

# REPORT

OF THE

## International Trades Union Congress.

HELD IN

ST. ANDREW'S HALL,

NEWMAN STREET, LONDON,

ON

NOVEMBER 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10,

1888.

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1888

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## International Trades Union Congress.

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THE first International Trades Union Congress convened in Great Britain has just concluded its sittings. There have been several Congresses of a similar description in Paris. What led to the holding of the recent one in London was the receipt of a letter by Mr. H. Broadhurst, M.P., as Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress, from M. Zabusquire (of Paris) urging the Congress at Nottingham in 1883 to take the first step which would tend to promote international good understanding between Trades Unions. This invitation was sent on behalf of the National Committee of the French workmen's party to attend a Congress in Paris in October, 1883. This letter went on to say that the Agenda would have for discussion the following subjects:—1st. "The possibility of international legislation on the condition of labour, the hours of work, and the hygiene of the workshops and factories"; 2nd. "The conditions on which workmen, especially Unionists, were able to work in other countries than their own"; and 3rd. "The measures to obtain, in each country, the abrogation of those laws which placed obstacles in the way of permanent international relations between the Trades Unions." The letter of M. Zabusquire then went on to say that the French workmen would not be able to deal with the foregoing subjects in the absence of English Trades Unions, on account of their great perfection and power of economic organization.

Subsequently the Nottingham Congress empowered the Parliamentary Committee, if satisfied with the proposed Paris Congress and the *bona fides* of the Delegates who were to attend it, to appoint a deputation to represent the British Congress at Paris, and urge the trades of this country to be also represented. Ultimately the Parliamentary Committee appointed its chairman, Mr. A. W. Bailey, the treasurer, Mr. J. Burnett, with the secretary, Mr. H. Broadhurst, M.P., to attend the Paris Congress, which met on the 29th October, 1883. Mr. C. J. Drummond, from the London Compositors, Messrs. G. Shipton, E. Coulson, and H. R. King represented the London Trades Council, whilst Mr. E. Trow represented the Iron and Steel Workers of the North of England, and Mr. Davy the Amalgamated Tailors, and others.

The outcome of this Congress was the organisation of another in Paris, which met in August, 1886. Again, on this occasion, the Trades Congress Parliamentary Committee of Great Britain was represented by Mr. J. Mawdsley, the London Trades Council by Mr. C. J. Drummond and Mr. W. Jones, the Amalgamated Engineers by Mr. J. Burnett, the Railway Servants by Mr. E. Harford, the London Society of Compositors by Mr. J. Galbraith, and the Iron and Steel Workers by Mr. E. Trow.

Following upon this gathering in Paris, the French Workmen's Committee forwarded a programme of subjects, with a request to the British Trades Unions to organize an International Congress in England, in order to discuss them. Upon this the Parliamentary Committee presented a Special Report on the question to the Hull Trades Congress, when the matter was debated, and a resolution adopted, which urged the propriety of holding an International Trades Union Congress in England during 1887.

The Parliamentary Committee was, however, unable to see its way to make arrangements for such a Congress, and decided to report to that effect to the Swansea Congress in September, 1886. This was done, and culminated in the adoption of a resolution instructing the Parliamentary Committee to organize an International Trades Union Congress in London during 1887, but with the express stipulation that the standing orders of the British Congress, both with regard to the eligibility of the Foreign Delegates to sit in the Congress, and the forms of procedure, should be rigidly adhered to. Subsequently circulars of invitation were issued by the Parliamentary Committee in the English, French, and German languages, which contained extracts from the British Congress Standing Orders, pointing out the only conditions which would enable any one to attend. The acceptance of these conditions was to be taken as a compliance therewith. The Reports of both the Paris Congresses in 1883 and 1886, containing the details of the proceedings, have already been published.

**Names and Addresses of Delegates attending the International  
Trades' Union Congress, held in London, November, 1888; Names  
of the Societies, and Number of Members.**

**BRITISH DELEGATES.**

TRADE SOCIETY.	NO. OF MEMBERS.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES.
The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades' Union Congress.	..	{ Shipton, G., 2, Whitefriars Street, London, E.C. Harford, E., 55, Colebrook Row, London, N. Slatter, H., J.P., 69, Ducie Grove, C.-on-M., Manchester. Mawdsley, J., J.P., 3, Blossom Street, Great Ancoats Street, Manchester. Crawford, W., M.P., 14, North Road, Durham. Birtwistle, J., J.P., Ewbank Chambers, St. James's Street, Accrington. Jack, J. M., 28, St. Enoch Square, Glasgow. Inskip, W., 17, Silver Street, Leicester. Inglis, J., 172, Buchanan Street, Glasgow. Swift, J., Market Buildings, Thomas Street, Man- chester. Broadhurst, Hy., M.P., 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.
Blastfurnacemen, National Association	4500	Snow, W., 20, Albert Road, Middlesborough.
Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders ..	26500	{ Knight, R., 28, Archbold Terrace, Jesmond, New- castle-on-Tyne. Allen, T., 22, Blair Street, Brunswick Road, Poplar, London, E.
Bookbinders' Society, London Con- solidated.	923	King, H. R., 20, Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, London, E.C.
Bookbinders' Society, Vellum Account..	400	Lock, E., 20, Gransden Avenue, London Lane, Hackney, London, E.
Bookbinding, Society of Women Em- ployed in.	250	Whyte, Miss, 5, Macclesfield Street, Soho, London, W.
Boot and Shoe Makers, Amalgamated Society of.	4000	Chapman, W., 25, Brunswick Street, Hackney Road, London, E.
Boot and Shoe Rivetters and Finishers, N. U. of (London Metrop. Branch).	1824	Freak, C., 103, Scawfell Street, Hackney Road, London, E.
Bricklayers' Society, Operative .....	6754	Coulson, E., 46, Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.
Cabinet Makers, Amalgamated Union of.	1200	Morgan, J., 30, Theberton Street, Islington, London, N.
Cabinet Makers' Association, Alliance..	1150	Parnell, W., 26, Westbourne Street, Pimlico, London, S.W.
Cabinet Makers' Association (Branches 5, 6, & 37), Alliance.	180	Hooydonk, A. A., 1, York Villas, Hargrave Park Road, Highgate, London, N.
Carpenters and Joiners, General Union of.	2000	Matkin, C., 161, Sulgrave Road, West Kensington Park, London, W.
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association ....	838	Cooper, B., 170, Stepney Green, London, E.
Cigarette Makers and Tobacco Cutters' Union.	249	Rochman, M., 30, Christian Street, Commercial Road, London, E.
Coach makers, United Kingdom Society of.	4800	Kinggate, C., Model Cottage, Havelock Road, Harrow, Middlesex.
Colliery Enginemen's Association, Dur- ham County.	1184	Lambton, W. H., 26, Western Hill, Durham.
Colliery Mechanics' Association, Durham	1500	Trotter, L., 6, Atherton Street, Durham.
Compositors, London Society of .....	7400	{ Minter, R. W., 16, Graces Road, Camberwell, London, S.E. Drummond, C. J., 3, Raquet Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.
Cotton Spinners, Amalgamated Associa- tion of Operative	16844	Ashton, T., Spinners' Office, Rock Street, Oldham.
Cotton Spinners' Provincial Association, Operative.	4000	Robinson, J., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Dress-makers, Milliners, and Mantle- makers' Society.	35	Addis, Miss, 129, Marylebone Road, London, N.W.

## BRITISH DELEGATES—continued.

TRADE SOCIETY.	No. OF MEMBERS	NAMES AND ADDRESSES.
Engineers, Amalgamated Society of ..	52635	Eveleigh, W. H., The Leighs, Charlton Lane, Old Charlton, London, S.E.
Engineers (Bolton District) Amalgamated Society of.	1176	Mann, T., 96A, Deansgate, Bolton.
Engineers (West London Branch) Amalgamated Society of.	255	Burns, J., 56, Wickersley Road, Battersea, London, S.W.
Felt Hatters, Amalgamated Society of Journeymen.	1900	Robinson, F., 131, Darwin Buildings, Old Kent Road, London, S.E.
Flint Glass Makers' Friendly Society, National.	2000	Leicester, J., 1, The Crescent, Belvedere Road, London, S.E.
House Coal Society, Rhondda Valley..	1273	Weeks, M. W., 15, Taff Street, Pontypridd.
Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain, Associated.	6000	Trow, E., 8, Grange Road, Darlington.
Ironfounders, Friendly Society of ....	12000	Hey, W. H., 200, New Kent Road, London, S.E.
Lithographic Printers, Amalgamated..	1950	Kelley, G. D., 73, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.
Match Makers, Union of Women.....	666	{ Chapman, Sarah, 2, Swan Place, Mile End, London, E. Besant, Mrs. Annie, 34, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, London, E.C.
Miners' Association, Durham .....	30000	{ Wilson, J., 14, North Road, Durham. Carling, P., Blagdon-on-Tyne. Burt, T., M.P., 35, Lovaine Crescent, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Miners' Association, Northumberland..	12000	{ Fenwick, C., M.P., West View, Morpeth.
Miners' Association, North Yorkshire and Cleveland.	2000	Rowland, R., 19, Ruby Street, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks.
Miners' Association, Rhondda .....	15000	Abraham, W., M.P., Pentre, Pontypridd.
Miners' Association, West Cumberland	2500	Sharp, A., 56, John Street, Maryport, Cumberland.
Miners' National Union.....	50000	{ Cowey, E., Sharlestone Colliery, Normanton, Yorks. Young, R., 17, Picton Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Miners' Union, Ayrshire .....	1000	Hardie, J. K., Miners' Office, Cumnock, N.B.
Pressmen, Amalgamated Association of	260	Peacock, W., 222, East Street, Walworth, London, S.E.
Railway Servants for Scotland, Amalgamated Society of.	3250	Tait, H., 65, West Regent Street, Glasgow.
Shipwrights' Society, Associated.....	4057	Wilkie, A., 3, St. Nicholas Buildings, N'castle-on-Tyne.
Shipwrights, United Kingdom Amalgamated Society of.	5000	Millington, W. G., 16, Argyle Street, Hull.
Smiths' Society, Co-operative .....	500	White, R., 98, Abbot Terrace, Gateshead.
Tailors, Amalgamated Society of.....	15409	Keir, G., 8, Caxton Buildings, Booth Street, Piccadilly, Manchester.
Tailors (West London District), Amalgamated Society of.	1500	{ Parish, W., 102, Belmont Street, Chalk Farm, London, N.W. McLeod, E., 49, Marney Road, Clapham Common, London, S.W.
Tailors' Trade Protection and Benefit Society, Scottish National Operative.	2866	M'Lean, N., 62, Dalry Road, Edinburgh.
Tin Plate Workers (London), Amalgamated Society of.	620	Deans, J., 8, Anteliffe Street, Commercial Road, London, E.
Trade and Provident Society, Bristol, West of England, and South Wales.	2600	Fox, J., 3, Albion Place, Cumberland Road, Bristol.
Trades and Labour Council, Hull ....	4000	Maddison, F., 6, Lime Tree Avenue, Alexandra Road, St. John's Wood, Hull.
Trades Council, Birmingham .....	3100	Tanner, J. T., Florence Place, Edward Street Parade, Birmingham.
Trades Council, Bolton United.....	8600	Fielding, J., J.P., 77, St. George's Road, Bolton.
Trades Council, Bradford and District..	3000	Hollings, J., 48, Havelock Street, Bradford.
Trades Council, Edinburgh and District	7500	Blaikie, T., 13, St. John Street, Edinburgh.
Trades Council, Leeds and District ..	4000	Judge, J., 6, Coburg Street, Leeds.
Trades Council, Leicester .....	2276	Holmes, J., 11A, Millstone Lane, Leicester.
Trades Council, London .....	25320	{ Caiger, W., 28, Varden Street, Commercial Road, London, E. Galbraith, J., 50, Bank Chambers, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.
Trades Council, Sheffield Federated ...	4370	Uttley, S., 145, Pitsmoor Road, Sheffield.
Trades Council, Southport and District	550	Threlfall, T. R., 19, Sussex Road, Southport.
Trades Council, Swansea .....	709	Bevan, W., 87, Rhyddings Park Road, Swansea.
Trades Council, Women's, London....	450	Simcox, Miss, E. J., Woodleigh, Mayfield, Sussex.
Trades Federation, Midland Counties..	2000	Juggins, R., 60, New Street, Darlaston, Staffs.
Weavers' Association, Blackburn ....	10000	Brown, E., 36, Cambridge Street, Blackburn.

TRADE SOCIETY.	No. OF MEMBERS.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES.
<b>BELGIAN DELEGATES.</b>		
Building Trades, Syndicate of, Ghent..	355	Beveren, Edmond van, Rue Terre Neuve, Gand.
Cigar Makers, National Federation of Belgian.	1000	Vendelmans, Alexis, Local au Werker, No. 146, Rue Base, Antwerp.
Cotton Spinners' Union, Ghent .....	500	Baudewyn, P., Local du <i>Vooruit</i> , Marché aux Fils, Gand.
Flax Spinners' Union, Ghent Workmen and Workwomen's.	500	Beerblock, Charles, Local du <i>Vooruit</i> , Marché aux Fils, Gand.
Journeymen Tailors, Syndical Union of	200	Aloys, Stuyk, 14, Rue de l'Empereur, Bruxelles.
Metal Workers, National Federation of	1327	Pierron, Evariste, 52, Chaussée de Ninove, Bruxelles.
Miners' Syndicate, La Hestre Abel Mine	200	Cavrot, Ferdinand, Mineur à La Hestre.
Typographical Printers, Free Association	690	Delporte, Antoine, 31, Rue de Ruysbroeck, Bruxelles.
Typographical Union, Ghent .....	85	Ansele, Edward, 88, Rue du Jambon, Gand.
Wood Workers, Federation of Belgian.	565	Sas, François, 94, Rue Linnée, Bruxelles.
<b>DUTCH DELEGATES.</b>		
Bricklayers' Trade Union .....	600	Gilst, A. van, 92, Malakkastraat, The Hague.
Cabinet Makers' Society .....	104	Yos, Willem Frederik, 505, Koningstraat, The Hague.
Carpenters' Society, Dutch .....	750	Asdouk, A. van, 50, Raggeveenstraat, The Hague.
Metal Workers' Union of The Hague..	1783	Stad, P. van den, Jbr., Koog van de Zaen, The Hague.
Painters' Union .....	385	Emmenes, A. van, 225, Zorgolietstraat, The Hague.
Painters' Union, Amsterdam Section ..	600	Kersenmeyer, J. H., 13, Bloedstraat, Amsterdam.
Sugar Refiners' Union of Amsterdam..	280	Woudsma, F., 19, Binnen Dommerstraat, Amsterdam.
Tobacco and Cigar Dutch Workers' Union	960	Thmels, E., 24, Jacob van Lennepstraat, Amsterdam.
Typographical Society of The Hague, "For All and By All."	123	Vliegen, W.H., 42, Raggeveenstraat, The Hague.
Typographical Union, Social Democratic	261	Gestman, G., 87, De Ghegn Straat, The Hague.
<b>DANISH DELEGATES.</b>		
Trades Unions, Danish Federation of..	20000	{ Christensen, P., 9, Romersgade, Copenhagen. { Jensen, J., 22, Elmegade, Copenhagen.
<b>ITALIAN DELEGATE.</b>		
Trades Unions, Federation of .....	20000	Lazzari, Costantino, Rue Carmine, Milano.
<b>FRENCH DELEGATES.</b>		
Agglomeration of the Loire District, Syndical Chambers and Corporative Groups of the National Federation of the Workmen's Syndicates entitled)	3250	{ Simonnet, Gustave, 1, Avenue Augustin Dupré, St. Etienne. { Devise, Louis, Rue Mareness Prolongei Maison, Chautaine.
Cabinet Makers, Trade Union of.....	700	Lamothe, J. B., 10 Rue Basfroi, Paris.
Carpenters and Joiners' Society .....	450	Tortelier, —, 24, Rue Myrha, Paris.
Coopers' Society .....	180	Renier, —, 1, Rue du petit Château à Charenton, Seine.
Copper Founders' Trade Union .....	1779	Bonal, E., 35, Rue des Amandiers, Paris.
Elementary Teachers' Trade Union ..	95	Lavy, A., 7, Rue Dejean, Paris.
Employés, Trade Union of .....	2223	Gely, A., 11, Cité Marié, 17th Arrondissement, Paris.
Engineers' Union, Department of Seine	1500	Montas, Adolphe, 84 Rue Menilmontant, Paris.
Ironworkers, Trades Union of .....	309	Dubois, A., 137, Faubourg St. Antoine, Paris.
Labour Exchange, Paris .....	140	Heppenheimer, —, 67, Rue St. Furgeau, Paris.
Letterpress Printers, French Federation	5500	Keüfer, A., Rue Boissonade, Paris.
Metal-workers, Seine Federation of ..	14772	Saint Martin, 12, Rue du Commerce, Paris.
Mines Association of the Loire.....	3000	Rondet, M., Place Harengs, St. Etienne, Loire.
Musical Instrument Makers (copper and wood), Syndical Chamber of.	150	Mousen, —, 16, Rue Eugène Sué, Paris.
National Federation of Trades Unions.	10000	Fourgat, G., 21, Montée St. Sebastien, Lyons.
Piano and Organ Makers, Syndical Chamber of.	775	Danty, J., 175, Rue St. Jaques, Paris.
Plumbers' and Zinc Workers' Society..	200	Touna, T., 13, Rue de la Folia, Avricourt.
Sculptors' Mutual Help Society .....	384	Gotte, Jean-Baptiste, 13, Passage St. Pierre Amelot, Paris.

## *Chairman's Opening Address.*

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FELLOW DELEGATES,

It is my gratifying duty, as Chairman of our Parliamentary Committee, to offer, in the name and on the behalf of the Trades Unionists of the United Kingdom, a sincere and fraternal welcome to our foreign friends on this occasion of their visit to Great Britain.

The Committee also desires me to convey to the British Delegates our earnest appreciation of the interest which they and the organizations they represent evidently attach to the proceedings of this Congress by appointing the large number of Delegates who are now present.

We trust that the Delegates who constitute this Congress will find their brief sojourn in our Metropolis agreeable; that the information which we hope to convey to each other as to the actual conditions of labour in the various countries represented will be mutually useful, and that our deliberations will have evolved some practical basis of action for the speedier prosperity of the toilers of every nation.

This is the first Congress of its special character which has been convened in this country. It has been called by the request of the organized Trades Unionists, and we have claimed that it shall be responded to by only those in a similar position. Under these circumstances, therefore, in the remarks which I may venture to offer you, I purpose to ask attention to the greater historical facts which underlie and have led to the origin and development of Trades Unionism as we find it in our country to-day; to refer to the advantage which Trades Societies have been to the whole community; and point, without detaining you by attempting any details of method, to what I believe must be the work of Trades Unionism in the future. I will—consistent with making myself clear—be as brief as possible in referring to those events which form the great landmarks of our national progress.

It will be well within the recollection of the British delegates present that after a change of Government in 1874 a Royal Commission, presided over by the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Alexander

Cockburn, was appointed to inquire into the operation and results of certain labour laws. In the following year the report of this Commission was presented to Parliament. This report was in many respects extremely valuable, but its conclusions and recommendations were strongly resented by the organized Trades of the country. However, the then Home Secretary, Sir Richard Cross, now Viscount Cross, threw aside the whole report, and brought into Parliament measures which subsequently were passed into law, greatly in advance of the suggestions made by the Commission. It seems to me necessary to make a short reference to this report, as it contains important language from the Commissioners, as well as evidence upon the laws which for centuries had oppressed our working people. It will enable us to comprehend, to some extent at least, the vast difference between the position in which our toiling population is now placed, and the one they occupied many ages ago, will draw our attention to the means by which our social amelioration to its present degree has been obtained, as well as to tell us how far during that wide and long gulf of suffering the condition of our labouring ancestors was regulated and controlled by the laws of our country.

One of our great writers has said that you may easily get a schoolboy to repeat by heart a long line of kings, and tell you of great battles lost or won, but you can scarcely obtain a single historian who will describe the causes which led to great social changes effecting a complete revolution in the habits and conditions of a people.

Usually historians say little or nothing regarding the working classes, and if we desire to know something about them, I believe the true plan, which is my object to-day, is to penetrate the character of the laws which from time to time have been enacted against labour. It will then be seen that this exceptional legislation was intended, and did operate upon our order whether they were in work, or without work, with relentless oppression and barbarity.

The first law ever passed in this country affecting labourers was passed in the life of Edward the Third, whose reign began in the year 1327, and the statute

was entitled the 23rd of Edward the Third. In the preamble of the Commissioners' Report, which I have just mentioned, the Commissioners admit that the Act was passed specially to deal with the working people when the population had been reduced by the recent pestilence called the "black plague." In many towns this fearful disease destroyed half the inhabitants, and resulted in a great demand for labour, which naturally led the working classes to insist on higher wages.

Then the Commissioners use these words:—

That in the interest of the Lords and Landowners, it was enacted,—

and now comes the extraordinary language of the enactment itself. It said:—

That every man and woman able in body and within the age of threescore, not living in merchandise, nor exercising any craft, not having of his own whereof to live, nor land about whose tillage he might employ himself, nor serving any other, should be bound to serve if required at the accustomed wages.

If he refused—he was to be committed to jail till he found surety to enter into the service; if he departed before the term agreed he was to be imprisoned. None were to pay more than the old wages upon pain of forfeiting double what they paid; if the workman took more he was to be committed to jail, the overplus to go to the King's use in alleviation of the dimes or quinzimes assessed on the Town or district.

By another statute passed two years later called the 25th of Edward III. s. 2, Carters, Ploughmen, and other Servants were to serve by the whole year and not by the day, and were not to go out of the Town where they dwelt in Winter to work in Summer if they could get work therein. The wages of Servants in husbandry and of certain artificers were fixed by the act. Cordwainers and Shoe makers were not to sell Boots and Shoes in any other manner than in the 20th year of the reign of Edward the Third. If labourers or artificers left their work and went into another County process was to be issued by the Sheriff to arrest and bring them back.

I have concluded my comment upon the Commissioners' Report of 1875, but there was one other Act passed in the reign of this king called the 37 of Edward III. c. 3, which deserves passing notice. It began by confirming the Charter obtained from King John, and proceeds to regulate the prices of various commodities and the dress of all classes. Here, however, it seems to aim a sting against those who lived by labour. The Act declared that:—

All people that have not forty shillings of goods nor of chattels, shall not take nor wear no manner of cloth, but blankett and Russett of twelve pence the yard, and shall wear the girdles of linen according to their estate, and that they come to eat and drink as pertaineth to them, and not excessively.

Upon this portion of the Act a pungent writer somewhat ironically remarks that:—

It will thus be seen that the rulers of that day were careful that the common people were free from the sin of gluttony.

You and I can safely say that no such law is necessary now, but these ancient legislators seemed anxious that those whose lot it was to labour should feel their position by the coarseness and poverty of their garments. Various subsequent Acts were also passed in the time of Richard II. with the purpose of preventing labourers leaving their place of abode to seek employment elsewhere, and stipulating the time they should work and the wages they should receive.

The great revolution which caused the suppression of the Monasteries threw a large number of persons on the country to obtain their living by begging, which doubtless caused statute after statute to be enacted for putting down vagrancy with ferocious severity. To the able-bodied work was compulsory, and if they refused no mercy was shown. All writers agree that the scourge and the prison were the alternatives of labour.

In my reference to the Commissioners' Report in 1875, I sought to show what treatment was dealt out to those who were fortunate enough to get work, and now let me fasten your attention upon the terrible lot of those who were unable to obtain work. For this purpose, it may be more forcibly realized if I read an abridgement of an Act passed in the first year of Edward VI. in the brutal language of the enactment itself. It states that:—

"Forasmuch as idleness and vagabondry is the Mother and roote of all thefts, Robberies, and all evil acts and other mischiefs, Be it enacted that whosoever, man or woman, not being lame, impotent, or so aged or diseased with sickness that he or she cannot work, shall either like a serving man wanting a master, or like a beggar Idly wander by the highway's side or in the streets, and do so continue for the space of three days, and if no man otherwise will take them, do not offer themselves to work for meat and drink or, after they be so taken to work for the space agreed betwix them and their Masters, do leave their work out of convenient time, That then every such person shall be taken for a vagabond to two of the next Justices of the peace, who shall immediately cause the said loiterer to be marked with a hot iron in the breast the mark of V, and adjudged the same person to such presentor, to be his slave for the space of two years, only giving the said slave bread and water or small drink and refuse of meat, the said slave to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise, in work or labour how vile soever it be. And if any manner of slave appointed run away, the same Justices shall cause such slave to be marked on the forehead or ball of the cheek with a hot iron with the sign of an S, and shall adjudge the runaway to be the said master's slave for ever. And if such slave shall the second time run away, That then every such running away to be adjudged felony, and such runaway to be taken as a felon and condemned to suffer pains of death as other felons."

This state of things passed away, and ultimately the whole of this legislation was repealed and consolidated by a statute passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, known also as the "Statute of Labourers." This Act, though partially directed against vagrancy, was chiefly directed to make labour compulsory and local. Under a succession of cruel statutes passed in the reigns of various sovereigns, this continued to be the law till the commencement of the last century.



The increase of population, the altered conditions of society arising from varied causes, combined with political changes, led to the class of legislation to which I have referred being superseded by another kind. However, in the reign of George the First, in an Act entitled the 7 Geo. I. c. 13, Parliament gave its sanction to a measure for regulating "Journey-men Tailors," which declared all attempts on their part to get more wages, or reduce their hours of labour, illegal, and any one convicted of these crimes was sent to hard labour in the House of Correction for two calendar months. The Act then defines the time for their work and remuneration. They were to be paid not more than 2s. per day during the spring, and 1s. 8d. per day for the remaining nine months. They were to work from six o'clock in the morning till eight at night. Employers were prohibited, under a penalty, from giving better terms than those prescribed.

We have, therefore, the fact before us, that after the lapse of 400 years labour had made little progress, and was practically in a condition of serfdom to the Employing Class. We see, also, that the same spirit of hostility and ostracism towards the Working Class which marked the period of George the First was precisely the same in character as that which existed in the legislation of 400 years earlier.

Notwithstanding the apparent submission to the outrages of unjust legislation which for centuries had been enacted, there had silently been accumulating a determination to resist it. During the last century causes were set in motion which powerfully operates upon our conditions of life to-day.

The statute of 20 Geo. II. c. 19, introduced a new principle into this branch of law, and laid the basis of legislation which lasted down to our own time; and in the agitation for the repeal of it many of us in this Hall have taken part.

This Act gave summary jurisdiction to justices of the peace in disputes between Masters and Servants of the classes enumerated in the Act, and was subsequently extended by the 31 Geo. IV. c. 52, to labourers of all sorts.

It was not till the latter part of the last century that the effective germs of our existing Trades Unions took tangible form, so as to cope with the law as it affected workmen. Then, however, positive and definite progress began. A new spirit displayed itself among the working class—a spirit of determination to have a voice in making the terms and conditions under which they were to labour.

Although the law was opposed to all organization for Trades Union objects, the workmen, nevertheless, did form local associations of a certain kind in various parts of the country, and these occasionally broke out against the tyranny of employers in spite of the

punishment inflicted by law. On the formation of these Unions, we soon merge from the condition of things when each workman stood alone. Weak as these Unions were, they rapidly enabled the workers to communicate their views to each other, and to hand down a history of individual heroism which served as encouragement to others to continue the struggle. But before this period, all is darkness as to the personal sacrifices by which the liberties we now enjoy were won, and we can only surmise what must have been the suffering of the working class by the actual cases which have come to our knowledge.

Generalising language is not always conclusive, and it may be more satisfactory if I illustrate our position by referring to a prosecution of some London bookbinders at the Old Bailey in the last century. In 1780 the Society of Bookbinders took its origin. The first step of the men was to endeavour to reduce their working time one hour per day. The course adopted by the men more than a hundred years ago may be best explained and contrasted with our present contests if I read a few short extracts copied from the document issued by the men at the time.

The first important meeting, which was held at the Green Man, Bow Street, was attended by nearly all the journey-men bookbinders in London, when the movement for obtaining the hour was unanimously resolved on; and eventually committees from each of these societies were organized for that purpose, and it was determined in March, 1786, to apply for the hour at four of the principal shops in the trade, by giving a week's notice to leave if it were refused. It was refused by each of these employers; and what followed will be seen by the following extract from an address to the public published by the men in large placards, and afterwards in the *Morning Herald* of May, 1786:—

"Above eighty men have been discharged from their employment, without a minute's notice, only for countenancing a few men in their profession or opinion that thirteen hours per day were sufficient for a day's work in their laborious calling—the stated hours being from six in the morning to eight in the evening, and the usual wages being from 15s. to 18s. a-week, with some few men at a guinea."

The address goes on to state that, not satisfied with this, the employers had caused the men to be repeatedly discharged from other shops, and—women being largely employed in folding and sewing together the sheets of books—"deprived their wives of earning a maintenance," and had caused "the magistrates to apprehend twenty-four of the men, some of whom had received the usage above related." The address continues—

"It is their desire at all times to conduct themselves with submission to their superiors, considering themselves in a subordinate state. Nevertheless, they cannot help considering that they are men, and, as such, sensible of the oppression they labour under. They hope none will believe them actuated with motives adverse to the interests of their employers, or linked in combination to obstruct their business. They reprobate every idea repugnant to justice, and ground no claim but on principles of equity." And it concludes by leaving the innocence of their intention, the justice of their cause, and their whole deportment, to the decision of a "candid and unbiassed court."

On the other side the following address was published in the "*Morning Chronicle*" of April 6, 1786, by the "booksellers of the cities of London and Westminster," which states, that having heard the complaints of the master bookbinders of the combination entered into to compel them to abridge the usual hours of labour, and after having carefully considered the reasons assigned by the journeymen, they were of opinion that the "opposition of the masters was well-founded, and the pretences of the workmen groundless": concluding as follows—

"It is, therefore, the determination of the booksellers to give the master bookbinders all the legal support in

their power against the unjustifiable confederacy, by procuring for them every indulgence in point of time, till their journeymen are brought to a proper sense of their duty and their interest, either by a due consideration of the folly and imprudence of their present conduct, or by the interposition of the laws, which have wisely provided suitable punishments for such offences against order and good government."

The masters who refused the hour formed themselves into a society to resist the reduction, and to prosecute the men for conspiracy, twenty-four of whom were indicted, and held to bail, May 1, 1786, for this offence. Of these, five were found guilty, as, according to the then state of the law, they undoubtedly were. The judge before whom they were tried said he should not then pass sentence, but leave them until next sessions out on bail, when, if they did not return to their work, he should pass a severe one. They did not return to their work, and the judge kept his word by sentencing them each to two years' imprisonment in the jail of Newgate, on the felons' side. It is impossible not to admire the constancy of these men. They knew that a severe sentence awaited them if they persisted—and imprisonment of any duration, in the then sanitary state of our prisons, was a punishment involving imminent danger to their health, and perhaps to their lives; indeed, one of their number sunk under it and died in prison—yet, believing themselves to be in the right, they did persist in what they believed to be a sacred duty.

Their names were—Thomas Armstrong, William Craig, Patrick Lillburn, Thomas Fairburn, William Wood (who died in prison).

Whilst these bookbinders, occupied in one of the higher trades, were struggling in the heart of London for more reasonable time of employment, the condition of some of those who followed ruder forms of manual labour were in an equally or more degraded condition still. It will sound strange to many here to know that in the mining districts of Scotland the whole of the colliers, their wives and children and homes, were sold with the coal pits whenever they changed ownership. It was not till within the second year of the present century that a law was passed which stopped these people being sold as veritable slaves or ordinary cattle on an agricultural estate. With the repeal of the "Combination Laws" in 1824 an immense impetus was given to Trades Unionism, and we therefore come to the legislation enacted in our own time.

Just after I had served my trade apprenticeship of seven years I became a Trades Unionist, and found that the societies throughout the country were concentrating their efforts upon two objects. One was to legalise the funds of trade societies, and the other to obtain the repeal of the Master and Servant Act. It took nearly twenty years of agitation by the trades of the country to induce the British House of Commons to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the working of this Master and Servant Act. The Committee, however, was appointed in 1866, at the instance of the late Mr. Alexander Macdonald, who subsequently became a member of Parliament for the borough of Stafford. The nature of this law was simply infamous. Its provisions made it a criminal act if a workman broke a contract, even under the most justifiable circumstances; he was arrested by warrant, and if the breach of contract was proved, the magistrate was bound to inflict the punishment

of imprisonment with hard labour. If, on the other hand, the employer broke the contract, ever so flagrantly, he could only be summoned by civil process, and his punishment was simply a money fine.

Down as late as 1865, in that year alone, upwards of 1,100 arrests took place under this Act, and upwards of 800 of these persons were sentenced to imprisonment during the same period, including men, women, and children.

To show how harshly this law was intended to operate, allow me to relate a case which was placed before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1866. Some years ago a strike took place in the town of Wolverhampton at a firm of tin plate workers. During the strike a workman from Liverpool entered the employment of this firm, and signed a contract to work for twelve months. In the course of a few days the workman received a letter from his wife, stating that one of his two children—a little girl—was taken ill with fever, and that if he wished to again see her alive he was to come back immediately. The man at once went to Liverpool to see his child, but on his arrival home he found her dead. The mother and his other child had caught the disease, were both in bed and without sustenance or attention. The few shillings possessed by the man were soon spent upon his sick wife and child, and in order to prevent the spread of the contagion he went to a neighbouring factory and begged some boards to construct a rude coffin in which to place the dead child until it was buried by the parish authorities. Whilst engaged in making this temporary shell, a police-constable arrived at the house with a warrant for his apprehension for breach of contract, and took him back to Wolverhampton. He was brought before the magistrates, who so sympathised with the man that they broke the law by not sending him forthwith to prison, and agreed to fine him 4*l.* 10*s.*, including the costs of the constable fetching him from Liverpool. This was simply a mockery of his suffering, as he had not a shilling, and there was nothing but the gaol before him. The Trades Unionists, however, determined not to see a fallen man crushed; they paid the fine, and begged the employer to allow him to return to his family.

It might be inferred that the law of which we complained was only carried out against grown men. That was not so. In 1867, two boys—apprentices in the shipbuilding yard at Kingston, Shoreham, Sussex, named David Webber, Fishergate, 18 years, and George Walter Selmes, 19, Lock Road, Southwick, 19 years—were arrested in the day, at 12.30, in the yard at Kingston. They were taken at once to Shoreham by a constable of the West Sussex police.

Mr. Scott Stonehouse, as the committing magis-

trate, tried them at the workhouse at half-past two o'clock the same day. They were denied the opportunity of obtaining any professional assistance that was offered by a friend who was present in court. They were also denied the opportunity of sending for any witnesses to rebut the evidence, although plenty could have been had within a mile and a-half.

These boys were charged with disobedience of their masters' orders, and not with leaving their work. The act of disobedience alleged against them was that they went to caulk the lee-side of a ship when they were told to caulk the weather-side. The boys denied this, and said that they were simply sent to work, and they chose the lee-side of the ship because the weather was so severe. They were sentenced respectively to seven and fourteen days imprisonment, and before their parents knew where they had gone—in fact, was expecting them home to dinner—these boys were serving their sentences in Petworth Gaol.

The then Home Secretary was memorialised by all classes of the inhabitants in the locality to remit these sentences, but in vain. They served their full term.

The recommendations of the Select Committee which I have named resulted in an amendment of the law which was a great improvement upon the old Act. The amended Act was in operation from 1867 to 1875, and during that period, although it contained two bad clauses, the total number of convictions in the eight years was 774, as against more than 800 in one twelve months just ten years before.

The 9th section of the new Act gave magistrates power to compel workmen to complete their contracts, and the 14th section gave imprisonment for what was termed "aggravated breaches of contract."

It was not long before our worst fears were realised.

A workman named Cutler, residing in Sheffield, made a contract with Messrs. Hague & Co. for five years' service in making fire-irons. There was a stipulation in this contract that, although the man was working by the piece, his maximum wages should be thirty shillings, and the minimum twenty-five shillings per week, and that he should have a proportionate increase of wage if such increase took place in other firms for the same class of work. A general increase of wages took place throughout the country of from 20 to 30 per cent., but the employers refused to give Cutler any increase whatever. On this he left the firm, feeling justified, inasmuch as the employers had broken the contract. The man, however, was summoned for damages amounting to £15 for being absent for three weeks. At the trial, the stipendiary magistrate awarded the em-

ployer £11: 10s. damages, and costs, which the man paid. He was again summoned to complete his contract; being a clever workman, the employers did not wish to lose his services. He refused to complete his contract, for which he was sentenced, and served three months imprisonment.

His eldest son died the day before the father was released from gaol, and in consequence of this domestic affliction the employers wrote to say that they would not then press their claim, but intimated they would soon do so. Within three weeks the man received another summons to complete his contract, but his imprisonment acted as a bar to this, and his employers elected to again sue for compensation, and the magistrate awarded them another £11: 8s. for being absent three weeks from work. For this sum the man's furniture was sold, his home broken up, and he left the town to get employment elsewhere. Even then the Sheffield employers followed him from town to town, with threats to other employers that they would be prosecuted if they gave the man work, so that really he served another term of imprisonment. This was the position of honest industrious workmen before the law in 1868.

At this period, however, our National Trades Union Congresses had begun to take definite form, and to acquire solid power. By this means we were enabled to interchange views and opinions, and agree upon a common policy in order to act like one man at any given hour in every constituency or part of the United Kingdom.

From that period our progress has been almost incalculable. Since that time we have promulgated and secured the passage through Parliament of no less than twenty Acts which bear directly in the interest of our industrial population, as well as obtaining the repeal of those which were degrading and oppressive. In 1872, the London Gas Stokers' strike took place, and about forty of the men were sent to prison for breach of contract under the 14th section of the amended Master and Servant Act. Four of the men who were said to be the chief actors in the strike were not only charged with breach of contract, but, for the first time in our history, they were also charged, under the common law, with conspiring with others to break their contracts; therefore, they were sentenced to twelve months imprisonment, instead of three months, the highest penalty under the Act.

Although these men were not members of any Trade Society, the Trades Unionists at once took up their cause, and not only kept their wives and families during the men's incarceration, but succeeded in getting their twelve months reduced to four. Then, again, convictions followed by imprisonment of men, women, and children were taking

place all over the country under the Criminal Law Amendment Act which Parliament had passed so recently as 1871. It was under this shameful Act that the London Cabinet Makers were imprisoned for what the law now justifies us in doing.

I point to these facts to show that the old spirit of tyranny towards labour still lived, was ready for practical application, and that it was only our wisely directed power of Trades Unionism which saved us from being still involved in the struggles and degradation of the feudal ages.

The year 1875 was a remarkable one for British labour, and may be justly regarded as the period of the workmen's emancipation from criminal interference, or regulation of their action by State law in their social work, after more than five hundred years had been consumed in the task. In addition to removing some penal enactments of recent years, quite as pernicious as anything ever placed on the Statute Book, the Trades Unionists have initiated and completed some splendid social changes. The most valuable of these has been the reduction of the hours of labour, which has enabled the workmen to engage in higher and nobler spheres of action. This is not a mere statement, but can be borne out by facts.

But let us begin with the London bookbinders in 1782, and all the intervening efforts of the Trades Unionists since that time, and it will be found that the Trades Unionists stand alone as successful examples of capacity to reduce the time, and to humanise the toil of our workpeople. They stand alone, also, in the necessary labour and expense by which the odious name of master and servant was erased from the statute book, the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871 repealed, and stopping the application of the law of conspiracy to labour disputes, in order that our workmen may stand, as they now do, on a footing of equality in our courts of justice.

With respect to the reduction of the time of labour, the Trades Unionists have ever placed this question in the foreground of their action. This will be best observed when we remember that the discovery and application of steam and the invention of the steam engine produced a social revolution in the relations of employers and employed. The change in our industrial system brought such wealth and power to the middle classes of the country that it amazed the world, and induced Mr. Gladstone to say, in his Liverpool speech, that we had made, as a nation, more money during the last fifty years than in all the five hundred years preceding them. But this vast increase of wealth, however, brought no permanent comfort to the homes of the great mass of the working people, and it was therefore in the midst of this growing prosperity that great efforts were made in 1832-33 to limit the hours of labour

for children in factories. The Trades Unionists then, as we may find now, not only had their opponents in front to combat, but also the traitors in their own ranks. The rapid extension of our industries brought in its train endless misery, poverty, and degradation.

A Commission was appointed by the Government in 1830 to inquire into the condition of our factory operatives. In the subsequent report of these Commissioners, this is what they say:—

“From the whole of the evidence laid before us, we find, first, that the children employed in all the principal branches of manufacture throughout the kingdom work during the same time as the adults. In some instances children begin to work in factories at five years old. It is not uncommon to find them there at six years. Many are under seven, still more under eight, but the greater number are under nine.”

Then—

“From sheer fatigue the poor creatures would go supperless to bed, be unable to take off their clothes at night, or to put them on in the morning.”

I leave this audience of practical workmen to consider what kind of men and women these poor children could make, brought up under such conditions of absolute misery, denied adequate education, acquiring useful habits, or of profiting by such means when afforded. Let us glance for a moment at their amusements, as described by an able historian of this period, who was personally known to many of us here, and who was a living witness of the scenes—

“What,” said this witness, “were the amusements of the masses thus overworked, ill-fed, ill-housed, left for the most part uneducated? Large numbers of working people attended fairs and wakes, at the latter of which jumping in sacks, climbing greased poles, grinning through horse-collars for tobacco, hunting pigs with soaped tails, were the choicest diversions. But drink was the mainspring of enjoyment. When Saturday evening came, indulgences began which lasted till Sunday evening came. Fiddles were to be heard on all sides, and limp-looking men and pale-faced women thronged the public houses, and reeled and jiggered until they were turned, drunk and riotous, into the streets at most unseasonable hours. On Sunday mornings the public houses were again thronged, that the thirst following the indulgence of the night might be quenched. . . . In fact, silent work, alternated with noisy drunken riot and Easter and Whitsuntide debauches, with an occasional outbreak during some favourite ‘wakes,’ rounded the whole life of the factory workers.”

In the mining districts of the country, women and children, including girls as well as boys, were employed to work underground under the most degrading conditions.

To alter and improve this state of things was the work of the Trades Unionists, and the wisest of them determined to begin by making an effort to limit the hours of toil for women and children. They were assisted by Messrs. Oastler, Sadler, and Fielding, the great Parliamentary champions for introducing what was known as the “Ten Hours Bill.” The late Earl of Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) assisted in the work.

But in addition to efforts of this kind, the arguments of pseudo-economic writers had to be com-

batted and met. These assured the workers that any interference with the law of supply and demand would ruin the country; would drive the trade abroad; that the wives and children of workmen would run the streets idle; and that short time meant low wages; and a host of other evils.

To all this the workmen replied, that if need be they would accept the lower wage, for they were determined—whatever became of the trade—to rescue their wives and children from the excessive toil which was killing them.

“Upon one occasion,” states the same witness, “they exhibited the factory children in a great street procession just as they left work,—stunted, distorted and pale as spectres, a sight among the saddest ever seen on this earth since labour became a duty of life. This procession of factory children took place one Saturday afternoon, on the occasion of a visit from Messrs. Oastler and Sadlier to Manchester. As it passed along the people who lined the streets seemed awe-struck, and when, at Peterloo, where they were to be addressed by the two gentlemen named, they struck up a hymn asking God to bless those who were labouring on their behalf, their plaintive voices sounded like an appeal to the Great Father to deliver them from the crushing oppression under which they suffered. On hearing this, men and women burst into tears, and although delayed for years, from that hour the Short Time Bill was safe.”

I must also remind you that although the Trades Unionists sought to diminish the working hours of women and children by legislation, they have, with more than equal pertinacity, rejected this method of reducing their own time of labour, and in this direction they have been still more successful. Quite recently some commotion has taken place regarding a law to be enforced by Parliament restricting the hours of labour to eight per day, as if that was a question unknown, or something new to British Trades Unionists. Why, I can give to this Congress a list of nearly seventy towns where for many years in some branches of the building trade the hours have only averaged eight per day. But then this has been brought about in those trades sufficiently well and powerfully organised to enforce these conditions. It is open to every trade in the kingdom by the same means to accomplish the same on even better terms. But when you find a trade consisting in the aggregate of one hundred and sixty thousand workers with less than sixteen thousand in a Trades Union; another trade with two hundred and twenty thousand workers with less than fifteen thousand in Union; or one with sixty thousand workers and less than three thousand in Union, and another with a hundred thousand workers, but not three thousand of them members of a Trade Society, is it, I may ask, any matter for surprise that these industries complain, and properly complain, of being cursed with the sweating system? But what is the true remedy? We have secured the repeal of the Combination Laws, and have now the legal right to organise, obtained through ages of time, and for which thousands of men and women have had to die. What for? to leave this powerful instrument unused, and go back to the tutelage of state law,

from which we are only just free, to do for us what we can, and have done much better for and by ourselves. Just in proportion as we have liberated ourselves from the thralldom of state law, so in proportion have we prospered and extended our freedom. Just in proportion as the state has relaxed her grip of the industrial population so has her wealth, power, and influence developed. Not only in measures directly benefiting labour have Trades Unionists taken the active and leading part, but also worked and paid towards every other object of national advancement. For our system of education, our public parks, or free libraries they have done their share, and more than their share, as the great minority of our working population of the country.

The facts to which I have drawn attention relate mainly to our work for the removal of penal law which stopped or retarded our social progress. I point also with satisfaction to the fact that during all our social vicissitudes the working classes of Great Britain—and happily combined with enlightened persons of other classes—have never been unmindful of our obligations to the political liberties of mankind. Whether for exiled emperor, exiled king, or exiled communist, Great Britain has been the asylum of protection for every honest politician of the world. To maintain this principle the Trades Unionists are, I am convinced, prepared to risk everything. This is no passing impression. Only a few years ago when a powerful minister attempted to tamper with this sacred right, his government were swept from power by the conscientious indignation of the people.

Thus, step by step, up a path marked by many sacrifices and misery, and too often by the blood of nameless martyrs, have we won our way from slavery to serfage, and from serfage to industrial freedom; and though defective as it still may be, it is unequalled through the world, even under the Republic of the United States of America.

British Trades Unionists are ever amenable to counsel and advice when accompanied by example and results. But if I know them rightly, they must be excused if they fail to follow the doctrine of any nation where the toilers work hours per day more than ourselves, where the wages and their purchasing power are far below our own, and where the right of public meeting, of free speech, industrial organization, or political liberty, are despotically prohibited and unknown.

The policy of Trades Unionism, as I conceive it to be, may be summarised in the words, No change except by law—no change in the law except by the will of a majority of the people. This is enlightened democracy; for unless we obtained the sanction of a majority to our measures of reform they would be insecure, and to force them by a minority by physical power would be despotism.



Over and beyond all I have said, with far more unsaid, unrecognized as yet, stands the indirect advantage which Trades Unionism confers upon labour and the welfare of the country. The Trade Unionist is, by circumstances, a far better supporter of these interests than the Non-Unionist can be, for the reason that the time, the thought, and the money of the Unionist are spent in endeavouring to elevate his class as a whole, and not to enrich the mere individual. His life is devoted to making a better future for all who may come after him, and not to lavish the wealth created by industry upon those who despise labour. The Non-Unionist, by his isolation, is incapable of doing this, lives only to take out of civilization everything for himself, regardless of the wrong he perpetuates for his children.

How much self-denial by the Trades Unionists is eloquently portrayed in the following few figures, which I make brief for convenience sake, but which might be extended to hundreds of societies, instead of only the twenty-six whose returns I have been able to obtain!

Taking these twenty-six societies, I find that they have a total membership of 265,218; and that they expended last year alone on unemployed benefit £209,880, for sickness £130,084, on trade protection £64,853, on superannuation £70,620, on accident benefit £8,768, for loss of tools £1,839, benevolent grants and assistance to other trades £9,071, for the burial of deceased members £33,524, making a grand total for the year of £528,639. Taking the same twenty-six societies, I find that during the whole of their existence, although the periods of their duration may be longer or shorter—the mean time being twenty-three years—they have expended from funds accumulated from their hard-earned wages the following astounding sums:—for unemployed benefit £3,559,401, for sick benefit £2,006,539, for superannuation when incapable of work £753,149, for funerals of members and their wives £663,783, for upholding and increasing wages and reducing hours of labour £708,483, benevolent grants in cases of special distress, and assistance to other trades when in difficulty £168,888, for replacing tools lost or destroyed £84,808, for members travelling in search of work £17,144, making a grand total of £8,276,735.

The great function of Trades Unionism is to come between the workers and absolute want—not as a charity, but as a right through the means of their own voluntary associations. By this means they have been taught the great and valuable art of self-government, so that when they have obtained power they have the practical experience and knowledge to wisely administer it. Thus it is that what we have ever won no power has been able to take from us. The succour thus afforded to the deserving and necessitous working population has also given sta-

bility and confidence to the public life of the nation. In proof of this, let me quote an illustration given by the eminent financier and friend to labour, Sir John Lubbock. It consisted of an analysis of the sums paid in during one month to the bank of Messrs. Robarts, Lubbock & Co., in the city of London. The total amounted to £19,000,000, and was composed of—

Cheques and bills.....	£18,395,000	=	95.
Notes.....	487,000	=	2.5
Coin.....	118,000	=	0.5
<hr/>			
	£19,000,000	=	100.0

From the same authority we learn that the commercial and trading transactions which passed through the Banking Clearing House in the city of London represented, for the year ending December, 1887, £6,077,097,000, showing an increase over 1886 of £175,172,000. But even these figures give only a limited representation of the same transactions for the whole country.

The first set of figures show how little of the trade of the country is carried on by cash, and which on the authority of Sir John Lubbock is even less now than the figures represent—so that more than 99 per cent. is done by bills and notes which represent public credit. Social discord in the country would destroy this credit, paralyse labour pursuits, and destroy public confidence. How far the Trades Unions have operated to maintain this order, united with progress, might probably be ascertained by the experiment of legally disbanding them, confiscating their funds, and placing them under penal prohibition, to learn how far England would be from civil war. But all workers, and Trades Unionists especially, are interested in the maintenance of order and public credit.

There is still another remarkable example of the extent of British credit shown by the great step taken by the Right Hon. Mr. Goschen.

When the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his proposal in March last to convert the three per cent. government stocks into a new, bearing interest at the rate of  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. until 1903, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. thereafter, the amount of three per cent. stocks was (in round figures) £558,000,000. There is remaining now only about £42,500,000, to be paid off or cancelled. This is a financial revolution in the right direction, because till 1903 the normal capitalists will lose, while the taxpayer and workers will save till that date £1,395,000 annually. After 1903 the saving will be £2,800,000, all of which would ultimately fall upon and be paid by labour. It establishes the fact that in no other country in the world would this be possible, and again exemplifies the remarkable solidity of British financial credit.

The Trades Unionists have forced into national recognition the disregarded rights of labour; by

their influence and work do we meet here to-day, not by secret evasion of the law, but by constitutional right, under the sanction and protection of the law.

These facts will, I hope, be taken to heart by foreign governments who are now so mercilessly persecuting their industrial populations. These governments will not work out the social emancipation of the people, and are cowardly enough to crush the efforts of the workers to do it for themselves. In this difficulty I am convinced they have the deepest and heartfelt sympathy of British Trades Unionists.

And now, it will be asked, has Trades Unionism reached its limit? or is that limit to be reached by an extension of its present work? I think not. The Trades Union policy certainly at present must be to maintain whatever advance in comfort may be obtained by any portion of the working classes by preventing its being swamped in the interest of capitalists or unorganised labour from without. It is evidently out of the question to accomplish a simultaneous advance of the workers all over the world. The Englishman and the Hindoo, the American and the Chinese, the Frenchman, and the people of low standard of living by whom he might be surrounded, cannot be made to keep step, shoulder to shoulder, in the economic march. But if this cannot be done, and some means be not taken to defend the advanced position of the working population, these will assuredly be lost, and their loss will react upon the rest.

I have endeavoured to show how the present position of skilled labour in this country has been evolved gradually from the barbarism of the middle ages, and how, during the last seventy years, it has been advanced by the work of our organisations. Let me, in conclusion, enumerate a few subjects the evolution of which will, I think, be the work of our Unions in the future. The increased, and ever increasing, powers of production, the application of science to industrial pursuits, the increase of population, will render a diminution of the hours of labour absolutely necessary to secure social order. But I am strongly convinced that before we can go much further in this direction there is positive need for reducing the time of work on the continent, especially in those trades which are subject to severe foreign competition, and when the facilities for travelling and intercommunication brings the far East as near to us as Ireland was in the beginning of the century.

The right of labour to share fully and equitably in the wealth which it produces is beyond dispute. This will make it imperative that Non-Unionists shall cease to exist, by all workers sharing our com-

mon burdens, then in the immediate future we must bring into effective operation a practical mode and base of mutual action for internationalism of labour, but which is not easily possible without similarity, if not identity, of national organisation.

Trades Unionism, therefore, is a social policy of wide and lasting application. If time permitted, it could be shown that it is but a phase of the general policy of Civilization in its struggle against a barbarism which is even on our borders.

We are too apt to underrate or overlook the importance of the fact that science brings in its train not only new blessings but new dangers—powers for good and powers for evil. In the language of the new philosophy, our surroundings are rapidly changing owing to the progress of knowledge, and if the adjustments of our conduct do not keep pace with it, evil must ensue. No thoughtful Trades Unionist will imagine that he has done his duty by simply paying his contribution and receiving his benefits. He would in that case be simply the member of a trade society, but not a Trades Unionist. We are specially interested in the change taking place in the mobility of capital and labour, and in the most profitable application of the industrial forces of the world. But Trades Unionists have more to do than this. In the past they have confined their attention chiefly to the market value of their labour, to maintain which, with all their influence, they have been impelled to do. In the time to come I hope Trades Unionists will centre their energies on raising the moral value of labour, and on the union of the capitalist and labourer in one and the same individuals. This can be done, and done easily, without revolutions, violence, or schemes of expropriation. It is not my province to point out now how the moral value of labour may be raised; but I would urge that we should not be influenced by the abuse of our efforts by those whose chief desire it is to buy our services at a low rate, and maintain their position of superiority to us. When we can obtain wages from which it is possible, as it ought to be, to make effective savings, the sceptre of industry will pass from the hand of the capitalist to that of the labourer, and not till then will industrial strife cease. Our higher life, truer enjoyment, must be preceded by a wider organisation of labour, sustained by regular contributions, directed by broad sympathies, and enlightened confidence in each other, regardless of race, creed, or nationality; then this feeling, acting in sound economic medium, will make a vast and beneficial change in our industrial system, and give the material conditions of peace, happiness, and prosperity to the multitudes who earn their bread by their daily toil.

## APPENDIX

TABLE showing the Amounts Expended on their various Benefits by Twenty-six of the principal Trade Unions during the Year 1887.

NAMES OF SOCIETIES.	Unemployed Benefit.	Sick Benefit.	Funeral Benefit.	Accident Benefit.	Superannuation Benefit.	Tool Benefit.	Trade Protection.	Benevolent Grants.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Amalgamated Society of Engineers .....	80,458	31,138	9,021	1,850	36,163	129	4,858	2,989
Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners .....	32,814	17,228	2,951	1,370	3,797	1,510	4,487	786
Steam Engine Makers' Society .....	5,939	2,729	745	100	1,714	..	1,051	49
Friendly Society of Iron Founders .....	21,801	6,192	2,307	613	7,692	..	100	13
Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders .....	22,165	20,539	3,452	1,815	4,657	..	1,131	..
United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers ..	4,006	453	1,070	76	3,623	..	..	..
Operative Bricklayers' Society .....	..	4,766	977	116	127	..	102	10
Associated Iron Moulders of Scotland .....	8,908	..	1,843	..	3,073	..	..	..
London Society of Compositors .....	4,819	..	992	..	1,165	25	743	211
London Consolidated Society of Bookbinders	790	502	..	..	50	..	..	21
Associated Blacksmiths' Society .....	1,991	1,071	198	..	185	..	..	..
Amalgamated Association of Cotton Spinners	15,775	..	702	1,499	1,011	..	2,226	254
Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants ..	2,068	278	..	..	1,003	..	8,222	1,677
Operative Stone-Masons' Society .....	1,402	3,442	2,264	125	4,191	..	150	..
Society of House Decorators and Painters ..	..	693	137	..	..	..	21	25
Associated Carpenters and Joiners .....	..	2,530	369	100	521	200	120	..
Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers .....	1,511	..	160	..	308	..	933	52
Northumberland Miners' Association .....	2,559	..	195	..	..	..	39,666	251
Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union .....	..	8,457	1,383	..	..	..	..	2,000
United Bricklayers' Society .....	25	..	601	530	..	..	..	..
National Association of Plasterers .....	125	1,008	311	174	182	..	..	..
United Plumbers' Association .....	365	1,325	331	400	..	..	239	..
Amalgamated Society Lithographic Printers	1,028	462	164	..	..	..	..	..
Scottish Tailors' Society .....	..	1,323	515	..	547	..	..	871
Amalgamated Society of Tailors .....	1,280	9,688	2,836	..	511	..	804	35
Durham Miners' Association .....	..	16,060	..	..	..	..	..	..
	£ 209,880	130,084	33,524	8,768	70,620	1,864	64,853	9,244

Grand Total on these Benefits—£528,837.





## *Report of Proceedings.*

Preliminary to the opening of the International Trades Union Congress at St. Andrew's Hall, Newman Street, Oxford Street, the Trades' Union Congress Parliamentary Committee gave a reception to the foreign delegates to the Congress at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday evening, November 5. The countries represented were France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, the delegates from the latter country having arrived in London on Friday. It would be very difficult to get together a more respectable-looking body of men than the foreign workmen who attended this reception, and, when mixed with the English delegates, the peculiar fashion of wearing the beard was really the only mark of difference upon them. The fraternisation of the foreign working men with their English brethren was entered into genially, and the men of different nations appeared at home with each other as soon as they came together, and by means of interpretation offered their mutual greetings. The executive of the London Trades' Council were present, and when cigars were lighted and refreshments served the meeting assumed a thoroughly sociable character. The Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades' Union Congress, Mr. G. Shipton, presided, and was supported by, amongst others, Mr. H. Broadhurst, M.P., Mr. G. Howell, M.P., Mr. H. Crompton (barrister-at-law), and other leading Unionists.—The Chairman said he had been asked by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades' Union Congress to offer to their foreign friends a hearty and cordial greeting. They welcomed the foreign delegates to this country, in which they had devoted their lives to the cause of the order to which they belonged, and they were assured their friends had done something in their respective countries for this cause, and although their laws may have compelled them to take a different course in working out their social emancipation, they all had but one common object before them, namely, the universal elevation of labour. They would have opportunities during the week of investigating the differences that existed between them, and he was confident they would arrive at sensible, manly and unanimous conclusions. They might differ as to the methods, but not as to the principle. They welcomed the foreign delegates, not only as trades unionists, but as politicians in the best sense of the term. England had at all times been the asylum for political refugees, and hence they had a mutual ground on which they could argue and discuss their differences. The best thing for that night was to have a friendly chat among themselves, and he now drank to the safe arrival of their foreign

friends, to their health and happiness, and to the progress of the men and women they represented; and he trusted they should meet again and again until they taught the world that they were the true ambassadors of every good cause among the peoples.—M. Heppenheimer (of Paris) responded, and said that if in France they had had to resort to violent means in working out their emancipation, it did not mean that they were linked with violence, because violence had been the accident and not the principle at stake. Frenchmen were open to conviction whenever an argument was used on behalf of the working classes. (Cheers.)—M. Kroll (Holland) said it was a glorious thing that while princes were travelling from town to town in Europe to create discord among the nations the delegates of the working classes were meeting together to bring about those social changes which, by abolishing poverty and misery, will bring about harmony and universal peace. (Cheers.)—M. Anseele (Ghent), M. Christensen (Copenhagen) and others addressed the meeting, and then English and foreign songs were given by the delegates, and the "Marsellaise" sung, after which the proceedings were closed with thanks to the Chairman. The company numbered about 250.

### **FIRST DAY, Tuesday, November 6.**

Early on Tuesday the foreign quarter in London, from Fitzroy Square to Oxford Street, was alive with the delegates and their friends, gathered in groups eagerly discussing the prospects of the Congress. They crowded into a French hotel, and held an informal meeting as early as eight in the morning. The business of the Congress itself began amid great calm and quietness, which was maintained throughout the lengthy address delivered by Mr. G. Shipton, Chairman of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee.

The list of delegates showed the presence of seventy-nine English and forty-four foreign representatives.

Then began the first contest of the Congress. It was proposed to elect an English chairman for the entire week, with two foreign chairmen. The foreign delegates, however, loudly protested that the chair should be occupied successively by delegates of different nationalities, to be elected each day. Some English delegates retorted that when in Paris they did as the Parisians did; but their opponents replied that the conveners of the Congresses held in France resigned all their powers into the hands of the Congress when once it had assembled. This matter was finally put to the vote, and the Congress was so evenly divided that the vote had to be taken several

times to ascertain which side had the majority. It then appeared that sixty delegates were in favour of the English method and fifty-six approved of the foreign custom. Thereupon two candidates were proposed as permanent English president—Mr. G. Shipton, by Mr. C. J. Drummond and Mr. J. Wilson, and Mr. J. Burns, by two foreign delegates, the latter obtaining forty-eight votes (which comprised the whole of the thirty-nine foreign and nine British delegates) and the former sixty-one (which were given entirely by the British delegates); M. Heppenheimer (Paris) being appointed foreign president for the day.

In the afternoon a similar struggle took place for the appointment of the Standing Orders Committee. It was suggested that this committee should consist of four English delegates and of one delegate from each of the five foreign nationalities represented. A large number of the Dutch, Italian, and French delegates protested in strong terms against what they described as an unfair proposal, and said that, in order to make the proceedings thoroughly international, it was necessary that there should be an equal number of each nationality on the committee. The English chairman pointed out that there was no necessity for a prolonged controversy on the election of this committee, inasmuch as it was simply a business committee, and had no powers but to systematise the work for the Congress. It could not override or take away any function of the Congress, and the five foreign delegates would be a majority of the committee. The payment of the costs incidental to the meeting, arrangements with the printer, &c., were matters which the British portion of the committee could best carry out. The suggestion had really been made to meet the convenience of the foreign delegates. Much confusion, however, with cross speeches from several delegates ensued, when at this stage an English delegate suggested that they had better adjourn for twelve months. The English chairman said that if this state of things continued it would be his duty to ask the English delegates to consider their position.

An English delegate thereupon proposed, and another seconded—

That the English delegates retire.

The English chairman said he did not want to hurriedly put that resolution, but if it were pressed he must put it.

After an excited debate it was decided that the standing orders committee should consist of four English and five foreign delegates. The committee was then elected as follows:—English: J. Wilson, miners, Durham; C. J. Drummond, compositors, London; W. Parnell, cabinet-makers, London; and J. Judge, boot rivetters, Leeds. Foreign: A. Gely, France; F. Sas, Belgium; P. Christensen, Denmark; C. Lazzari, Italy; and G. Gestman, Holland. Mr. H. Slatter, J.P., was appointed treasurer, and Mr. H. Broadhurst, M.P., and M. Renier, secretaries.

Letters of congratulation and sympathy from the Swiss Typographical Society, the compositors of Berlin, and the American Federation of Labour were read, and the Congress adjourned.

## SECOND DAY, Wednesday, November 7.

The delegates re-assembled again on Wednesday morning in St. Andrew's Hall. Mr. G. Shipton was the English chairman, and M. E. Anseele, of the Typographical Union, Ghent, presided over the foreign delegates.

The earlier proceedings were mainly occupied by the consideration of an intermediary report made by the Standing Orders Committee, who had discovered that three of the delegates in attendance on the previous day had no credentials whatever, and, of course, were not entitled to take part in the proceedings. Then, from information they had received they had called before them two foreign delegates (M.M. Villaret and Giugue, weavers, of Lyons), and found that they were nothing less than sweaters. (Oh!) They had acknowledged that they were intermediary employers. Next the committee considered that two other delegates—Mrs. Besant, representing the Union of Women Match Makers; and Miss Simcox, the London Women's Trades Council—were not workers in the ordinary acceptance of the term. The committee considered it their duty to report these facts to the Congress.

Mrs. BESANT maintained that, according to precedent, she had a perfect right to be present.

Mr. WILSON (chairman of the Standing Orders Committee) replied that the Committee had simply acted according to precedent; Mrs. Besant and Miss Simcox were not, and never had been, working women in the general sense of the term.

Mrs. BESANT held that the committee were going beyond their powers in challenging their names.

Miss SIMCOX asserted that she was a delegate within the letter of the standing order, because she had been a paying and a working member of a trades union. She was an active member of the London Women's Trades Council, and for a short period she was a member and an officer of the Shirtmakers' Trade Union. She thought this explanation ought to be accepted by the committee.

M. VILLARET said he and M. Giugue came all the way from Lyons under the belief that their names would not be challenged, and they found that they had been disqualified by the committee on the ground that they were not working men. They maintained that all the syndicates and trade societies taking part in trade movements were composed partially of workmen and middlemen. There was no difference between the workman and the taskmaster. (Oh, oh! and laughter.)

Considerable discussion followed.

The Chairman read the following letter:—

Amalgamated Society of Engineers, General Offices,  
89, Stamford-street, Nov. 7.

Dear Sir,—The Council of the above Society having seen a statement in the public press that Messrs. John Burns, of London, and William Forrest, of Bolton, are the Representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers at your Conference, our Executive beg to give it an emphatic denial. They are not the representatives of this Society, nor are they authorised to speak in its name or on its behalf. William Henry Eveleigh, the Chairman of the Executive Council, represents the whole Society at the Conference.

(Signed) ROBERT AUSTIN, General Secretary.

Ultimately, Mr. BROADHURST, M.P., in reply to Mr. Burns, stated that there was nothing in the credentials of either Mr. Burns or Mr. Forrest

that would justify the Committee in questioning them in any way.

On the suggestion of the CHAIRMAN, it was agreed that the question of the *bona fides* of delegates be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee, whose decision would be accepted by the Congress.

A sharp passage-of-arms took place between Mr. J. BURNS and Mr. G. SHIPTON as to whether the inaugural address of the Chairman should be accepted as the report of the English section on British labour.

It was ultimately agreed, on the motion of Mr. MADDISON (Hull)—

That the British delegates waive their claim to put an official report before the Congress as to the condition of labour in the United Kingdom.

The Standing Orders Committee reported that they had carefully examined all the credentials, and found that there were 69 British delegates, 19 French, 10 Belgian, 9 Dutch, 2 Danish, and 1 Italian, making altogether 110. In all these cases the credentials had been found correct. There were two delegates whose credentials could not be accepted, viz., M. Viard (unskilled labourers, Paris), and Mr. Newman (International Journeymen Boot Finishers' Society, London), and they consequently withdrew.

A question was put as to how it was that the German and Austrian delegates were excluded.

Mr. SHIPTON said that it had always been a standing order of the Parliamentary Committee that only *bona fide* working men, or those who had been working men, should have the right to represent labour or speak in the name of the working classes. If they departed from that rule, the working classes would be represented by members of the middle class.

M. ANSELE, in forcible language, combated the principles of the Parliamentary Committee, and urged that a large number of delegates from Germany would have been present if it had not been for this narrow view of the English Parliamentary Committee. They would have had present many of the German editors, who once had been working men, but who having worked their way up, were the very strength and backbone of German progress. He contended that they had as much right to be present as representatives of the labour interest as Mr. Shipton and Mr. Broadhurst, who were now no longer working men under the interpretation laid down. He knew of genuine German working men who would have braved the penalty of imprisonment on a more cordial invitation—naming Bebel as one.

Mr. SHIPTON replied that M. Ansele was evidently labouring under a mistake. None of the British delegates referred to had left their trades to follow other professions. He himself had never done anything but work at his trade or to work for those who were still following their daily work, by whom he was paid, and annually elected to his official position. The same was equally true of Mr. Broadhurst, who worked as a journeyman stonemason until he was elected by his fellow workmen to act as their Parliamentary Secretary. Again, Mr. Burt had been an actual miner until elected by his fellow workmen to his present official position. In the case of Mr. Fenwick he was actually at work in a coal mine on the day he was elected as a Member of

Parliament by the colliers of Northumberland. It was the same with Mr. Harford and all the other members of the British Parliamentary Committee. The Germans and Austrians had never appointed any delegates who had ever been workmen and members of Trades Unions, or they would have been accepted.

M. DELPORTE (Brussels) read a carefully-prepared report on the condition of the workers in Belgium. He showed that but two per cent. of the population took part in Parliamentary elections, and that these could not be influenced by the working classes as they were excluded from the franchise. The wages of recent years had fallen on the average 10 per cent. throughout Belgium. The Labour party of Belgium had succeeded in grouping together the workmen's unions, and their strength was daily increasing. He looked forward to a greater regularity in the payment of subscriptions as likely to ensue from closer connection with the English; but, if the English were strong in this respect, it was regrettable that they did not make better use of the great political power which in England the working classes enjoyed. He then took all the principal trades of his country *seriatim*, and gave the hours of labour and the average wages. The latter were so low and the former so long that these statistics elicited many groans and cries of "Shame" from the English delegates.

M. KROLL, on behalf of the Dutch delegates, read a report showing that in Holland also the working classes had no power over the legislature of the country. Consequently the taxes weighed more heavily on the workmen than on other classes. Education was not obligatory; there were not sufficient schools or teachers, and technical instruction was looked upon as a mere luxury. Justice was known only by name, and equality before the law was regarded as a pleasant fiction. According to Article 1,634 of the Civil Code, the evidence of an employer against a workman should be accepted without proof. Public meetings in the open air were forbidden, and the police, at their discretion, could dissolve indoor meetings. The workers were reduced to starvation wages. Agricultural labourers in the richest provinces only earned 1s. 2d. for a day of fourteen hours. In the textile trades the hours of labour were excessive, and the wages only seven florins a week. Fortunately, during the last ten years, the trades unions of the Social Democratic party had grown in strength; and by their influence Domela Nieuwenhuis was elected to the Dutch Parliament immediately on his release from prison. The report concluded by urging that the social problem would never be solved till land and capital were nationalised. But as a stepping-stone in this direction an International Eight Hours' Bill would be most useful, and they heartily congratulated the English trades unions on having convoked a congress for the purpose of discussing such a Bill.

M. GELY, reporting for France, stated that two years after the terrible suppression of the Paris Commune the trades began to organise themselves in societies. The first congress was held in 1876; the labour party was constituted at the Marseilles Congress in 1879. It had grown ever since. The laws protecting labour in France were not numerous or efficacious. They only related to workshops were machinery

and more than twenty persons were employed. But however unhealthy such a workshop might be, it sufficed to exclude the women and children for the employer to escape the action of the law. A powerful working men's party was necessary to force the hands of the Government. At the municipal elections, at least, they had been successful. From the Paris municipality they had obtained the creation of a large labour exchange, where now 140 trades unions had their offices. In contracts for the town of Paris, the contractor was compelled to pay wages a little above the trade union rate and to limit the day's work to nine hours. At Charleville, Nîmes, Montluçon, St. Etienne, Marseilles, and other towns labour exchanges were in course of construction, and these had given a great impetus to the trade union movement. The French workmen now, as in 1848 and on the 18th of March, 1871, were ready to make every sacrifice so as to lead in the vanguard of progress.

The CHAIRMAN read a telegram from an assemblage of labourers in Norway, containing these words:—"May social revolution prosper." This was greeted with laughter and cheers. A telegram expressing sympathy with the objects of the Congress was also read from the Labour Party of Christiana.

Other business was transacted, and the Congress adjourned.

A large number of the delegates responded to the invitation of the authorities at Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, and supped there in the evening.

### THIRD DAY, Thursday, November 8.

On Thursday the general subjects for discussion were presented in an order of the day, of which the first question for consideration was "The most efficacious means for removing the obstacles to free combination in foreign countries." The President stated that M. A. Van Asdouk, of the Dutch Carpenters' Society, had been chosen by the foreign delegates as the foreign president for the day. After an animated debate, the Congress rejected a proposal of the Dutch delegates, that the minutes of the conference should be read in Dutch as well as in English and French. Most of the speakers in the discussion employed the French language, an interpretation of each being given for the benefit of the English delegates.

M. RÉNIER read the collective report of the French Delegation. He complained that capitalism monopolized everything, even the brains of defenceless children, whom it reared in feelings of hatred and contempt for foreign countries. A European war seemed likely, and the workers of the world must organize to prevent such an occurrence. Bankruptcy reports, showing the constant collapse of small capitalists, proved how rapidly a financial feudality was coming into existence. But the large factories and emporiums established would serve as useful types for that nationalized industry they hoped to organize. He read the preamble of the Statutes constituting the labour parties of Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Spain, France, Poland, and other countries, showing that one and all proclaimed identically the same principles and ideas. It was the law, and the law only, that separated

the working classes of different nations. In France the Dufaure Law of 1872 against the International must be abrogated, as also the 414th and 415th Clauses of the Penal Code against coalitions. The law on the formation of Trade Unions, passed in 1884, was not in force in large industrial centres of France; but should also be abrogated lest some reactionary Government availed itself of the powers it conferred. Co-operative productive enterprise in France had entirely failed in its object, and only created petty capitalists, who were worse tyrants than the larger employers. International organization alone could solve the labour problem, as it was the best means of securing the socialization of the land and the implements of production, ultimately reaching the ideal when all would labour according to their capacity and receive according to their needs.

M. ANSEELE (Typographical Union, Ghent), described the hopeful feeling with which the Belgian delegates came to take part in the Congress. The meeting of that day proved that their hope was justified, and that the International would exist if they only had the courage to will it. But they must do away with the indifference which pervaded the working classes. Let the workmen who have had the benefit of free association and have profited by it inform their foreign brethren of the benefits they have gained, and tell them by what methods their liberties have been conquered—let them show us where trades unionism is strongest, and they would be able to rouse the most indifferent of the workmen of other countries from their lethargy. These pamphlets should, on the other hand, show that the low wages and long hours of Belgian workmen were a danger to the better paid English workmen; for the capitalist was ready to take his orders from the banks of the Seine even to Berlin, if necessary, to find cheaper labour, and that he was prepared to import the Chinaman, who could live on a handful of rice, to supplant the British workman, who must go under in the struggle because he could not live without his beef-steak. There must be a more perfect solidarity among the working men of all nations; and all must feel that a blow struck against their order in any part of the world was a blow struck every working man in every other part of the world, and they must be prepared to resent the outrage. In order to be practical he would make a practical proposition. On the first Sunday in May, in 1889, and in each succeeding year, let a universal demonstration take place among the workmen of England, Belgium, the United States, and every other country. On the same day, and, if possible, at the same hour, let them march in procession to some great place of meeting, carrying banners bearing the same mottoes, to move identical resolutions simultaneously from similar platforms, in favour of the freedom of association, without which they could scarcely be said to have the right to exist. This would be the foundation stone of a new International. It would show to the despotic countries of Europe the folly and danger of resisting this rising tide—a tide not of anarchy, but one that would fertilize the world in benefiting its workmen. Let the Governments of England, Belgium, and the United States, where the right of association



exists, insist with the Governments where it does not exist, that liberty of association for workmen is necessary for the welfare of all; that the liberty and the general safety of the world demand that in all countries the laws against the interests of their workmen should for ever cease.

M. CHRISTENSEN (Denmark) urged the necessity of assimilating laws affecting labour in all countries, and M. KROLL called for an expression of indignation against some employers in Holland who had prevented two Dutch delegates from attending the Congress by threatening to discharge them.

Signor LAZZARI (Italian delegate) said that politics—the art of governing people, or rather of leading them like sheep—were not looked upon with favour by his fellow countrymen. They had most need of education, for, according to the statistics taken in 1884, 55 per cent. of the population could neither read nor write. Of the working men the proportion was probably 80 per cent. Therefore it was by speech and public meetings that they could best be influenced. Capitalism in Italy was not so fully developed, and workmen might still hope to become small masters. Nevertheless a labour party had been formed in Italy. He did not lay much stress on the need of reforming the law. It was easy to avoid the law. A great point was to win over the support of the majority. Nor did he think it necessary to re-establish the International. The great necessity was to raise the condition of the working classes throughout the world, bring them up to the same level; and, for this purpose, more had to be done in Italy than elsewhere, for in Italy they had fallen to the lowest level.

M. TORTELLER (Parisian joiners) said that trade unionism and freedom of combination could only be of service to the skilled workers. Improvements in machinery were implacable, and no political law could prevent even skilled workers from being thrown out of employment by new machines. It was the unemployed, unskilled labour that should be the subject of their concern. Their misery could not be relieved by any legislative or private effort. The only means had already been indicated by those who were dying of hunger. Were not the recent strikes different from their predecessors? The hot breath of revolution wafted over them. If the workers were too civilized to kill, if they had not the courage to fight, then let them cease work. When the land was no longer cultivated, when bread was not baked, when the worker had signed that sentence of death, they would see how the capitalist, in his palace, could live without their labour. If the workers were so degraded it was because of their surroundings. A revolution giving to all equal rights would regenerate every one.

M. LAVY, in challenging the accuracy of the somewhat anarchical theories propounded by the Italian delegate, criticized M. Tortelier's remarks. If freedom only benefited skilled workers, he claimed for them the legal right to act on behalf of their unskilled brethren. To advocate a general strike was simply to preach in favour of a physical force revolution. Were the workers of all countries ready for a rising? Were they capable of profiting by a victory if they could achieve it? Or would not such a

rising be the means by which such advantages as were already enjoyed would be withdrawn, labour still further oppressed, and its leaders and organizers killed or imprisoned?

M. KEÜFER (Parisian composers), while not endorsing either Collectivist or Anarchist theories, nevertheless advocated the reconstruction of the International.

Mr. BURNS rose to deny that perfect freedom of combination existed in England, and was proceeding to describe the action of the police and military during the strikes in Wales, when he was ruled out of order, as the subject under discussion only related to Continental countries. Some of the foreign delegates took exception to this ruling, and there was a somewhat noisy demonstration in the spectators' gallery, which made the chairman threaten to close the gallery to the public.

M. MONTAS (Parisian engineers) added that the recent decree of the French Government, compelling foreign residents in France to register their names, was an act altogether opposed to true Republican sentiment, and his society energetically protested against such a measure. He thought an International should be reconstructed, but that its central office or council should not interfere with the tactics of the various local and national branches.

The proceedings then concluded, and the voting on the resolutions was adjourned.

The London Trades' Council, on behalf of the organised trades of the metropolis, entertained the delegates to the Congress to a complimentary dinner at the Holborn Restaurant in the evening. Mr. G. Shipton presided, and was supported by, amongst others, Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., Mr. Crawford, M.P., Mr. Burt, M.P., Mr. Abraham, M.P., Mr. Fenwick, M.P., and the members of the Executive of the Trades' Council. The Chairman, in an interval between the music, said the London Trades' Council, which represented 27,000 skilled workmen in London, and of which he had been for many years secretary, had asked the delegates to be their guests that evening. The societies had voted the money for this entertainment. The only toast he should propose was, "The universal elevation of labour; success to the trades unions of the world, with health, happiness and prosperity to all their members." The toast was drunk with the greatest enthusiasm. The rest of the evening was passed in harmony; and in the course of it M. Christensen (Copenhagen) thanked the English unions for the entertainment given to the foreign delegates. The French delegates drank with enthusiasm the toast of "The workmen of Germany."

#### FOURTH DAY, Friday, November 9.

The sittings were resumed on Friday morning. Mr. G. SHIPTON (British President) occupied the chair; and M. P. CHRISTENSEN (a Danish delegate) was chosen Continental President.

A letter was read from the Swedish Trades' Unions, expressing their regret that it had not been possible for them to accept the invitation of the Parliamentary Committee to attend the Congress, because the conditions stipulated for taking part in the proceedings would cause a

great sacrifice for the Trades' Unionists of that country.

The following resolution was adopted on the motion of M. CHRISTENSEN, seconded by M. J. JENSEN :—

The labour parties in the different countries are requested to put on the programme, and work by agitation for the abolition of all laws prohibiting or hampering the free right of association and combination, national and international, of the workers.

Mr. KEIR-HARDIE moved :—

In order to promote efficient organisation among the workers, this Congress recommends—1st. That all unions of one trade in one country combine in electing an executive central body for that trade in that country. 2nd. That the central bodies of the various trades in the different countries elect a general council for all trades and all countries. 3rd. That the various trades in the different countries shall meet in conference annually; and an International Congress shall be held at intervals of not more than three years."

Mr. FREAK seconded.

Mrs. BESANT opposed it in a defiant protest against the narrowness and pettiness of British trades unionists, who regard themselves as a kind of aristocracy of labour, and who affect to despise the unskilled labour, which the capitalist can use to cope with even the partial organization of technical skill. Strike after strike among the match-girls saw them return crushed and starved, and, she passionately declaimed, "What do you trades' unionists do to help them? It was left to me—a woman of the middle class—to organize them. Without me, that union would have had no existence; and when I came here as their accredited secretary, you questioned my right to be present." She moved as an amendment :—

1. To invite all workers to organise themselves into different syndical chambers and groups. 2. To invite the syndical chambers and corporative groups to organize, with or without the support of the municipalities, labour exchanges, which shall unite among themselves for all professional or statistical questions. 3. The organised workers shall constitute themselves into parties or classes, in the presence of all political parties, on a basis at once economic and political, in order to facilitate for workers the acquisition of public power in the commune, the department, or the State. 4. Each party in each nation shall form a national committee, and these national committees shall be in constant communication in order to establish an understanding between the workmen of all nations on all questions which concern them. 5. An International Congress shall take place in every year in each of the nations which are adherents of this organization. 6. At the next International Congress shall be discussed the details of international organization connecting the national committees of the various countries.

Miss SIMCOX replied, reminding Mrs. Besant that long before she had taken up the cause, Mrs. Patterson had always received the warmest and most practical support from trades' unionists of the opposite sex.

Mr. M'LEAN and Mr. BIRTWISTLE, both protested against Mrs. Besant's remarks.

Mr. CARLING urged that, before attempting any huge system of international organisation, those of local centres or trades must be strengthened. There must be more real work and less talk. He wished to add his repudiation to that of others to the assertion that trades unions regarded unskilled labour with contempt. The powerful body for whom he spoke were themselves unskilled, and they had subscribed £8,000 to assist the Welsh miners to organise their forces.

Mr. TANNER (Birmingham) caused some noisy dissent by saying that the trades unions were absolutely indifferent to members out of work.

After debate, a vote was taken, the result being that the French resolution was carried by a majority of five nations against one. All the Continental delegates voted for it; while of the British delegates, 12 were in favour of and 30 against the amendment.

On the motion of Signor LAZZARI (Italian delegate) the following addition was made to the resolution :—

The Congress invites all working-class associations in all countries to abandon all nationalist and patriotic ideas which tend to divide the workers of different countries.

The question of "The State regulation of the hours of labour" was next considered, and several resolutions were submitted.

Mr. PARNELL moved, and M. SAS (a Belgian) seconded, the following :—

This Congress is of opinion that owing to the concentration of capital, and the relative weakness of Trades Unions in proportion to the number of workers, it is impossible to further reduce the hours of labour without the aid of the State, and that in every case eight hours shall be the maximum number of hours worked.

At five o'clock, in accordance with the standing orders, Mr. Shipton declared the sitting adjourned, to resume at ten o'clock, a.m. Dis-satisfaction was expressed by some of the foreign delegates at the unceremonious departure of the English president, and an attempt was made by M. Christensen, the foreign president, to continue the meeting, but this calling forth many protestations, was not persisted in.

## FIFTH DAY, Saturday, November 10.

On Saturday morning the delegates concluded their sittings, Mr. G. SHIPTON presiding, and M. ANSEELE acting as foreign president.

The Congress proceeded to discuss certain resolutions on the agenda, on the desirability or otherwise of "State regulation of the hours of labour."

Mr. FENWICK, M.P., rose to make a personal explanation. He said that personally he was much opposed to any such legislation; that personally he thought it his duty to speak against it; but, as the delegate of the miners, he had received an imperative mandate to vote in its favour, which duty he, with regret, found himself compelled to perform.

Mr. MAWDSLEY said the Parliamentary Committee had last year attempted to take a *plébiscite* on the eight hours question. The result was so very vague and unsatisfactory that the Committee did not know how to vote. Pending a second and better-organized *plébiscite*, the question, so far as the English trades unions were concerned, might be considered in abeyance. The members of the Parliamentary Committee did not, by a vote, wish to prejudge the matter, and therefore he urged that it should not be discussed at all. He moved the previous question.

Mr. KELLEY seconded.

This was put to the English section, with the result of a tie—23 against 23 votes. On a second vote being taken, the previous question was carried by 22 to 20 for the English vote; but when

put to the foreign delegates, they were unanimously opposed to it, and therefore the discussion continued.

Mr. MADDISON, while approving of an eight hours day, declared that his reading of political economy taught him that under present conditions it would not be safe to confer such power on the State.

Mr. LEICESTER maintained that the effect would be disastrous in the glass trade, and complained that already 17,000 tons of foreign glass were imported.

Miss WHYTE also spoke in opposition.

Mr. BURNS remarked that the fact that this subject was on the agenda proved that trades unionism, apart from political and State action, was unable to bring about the reduction of hours that they as labourers demanded, and was also powerless to prevent overtime being worked in the best organized trades. He said, "We have the most difficult—I believe an impossible—task to keep our organization together, to hold what we have secured, and can only increase our power of doing good on trade union lines by increasing our subscriptions, which is impossible to-day. To avoid this, what is easier than to circumvent the masters by fighting them on their own ground—that is, transfer the battle from the bench and the workshop to the legislative platform. We are losing our hold of the world's markets. Wages-saving machinery is displacing labour, and a crisis is inevitable. This we ask you to mitigate. Don't be influenced by capitalist criticism. They said the same of the pioneers of unionism, temperance, &c."

An amendment to the resolution was proposed by Mr. FREAK, and seconded by Mr. CAIGER, to the effect that:—

Seeing the differences of opinion existing among workmen on the subject, the Congress recommend that in all private firms employers and employed be recommended to come to the most amicable terms, but in all Government and corporation works eight hours per day should be strictly adhered to.

The Congress now proceeded to vote on this, the most momentous question submitted to its consideration. Mr. FREAK's amendment, when submitted to the English section, was carried by 23 votes against 12. The foreign delegations explained, through their president, that they would willingly vote for this resolution, so as to secure the unanimity of the Congress, if by doing so it did not preclude their voting in favour of an international eight hours' bill. The English chairman, however, having declared that the adoption of Mr. FREAK's amendment would settle the entire question and debar them from adopting any other and more sweeping resolution on the same subject, the foreign delegations unanimously voted against it. The amendment proposed by M. TORTELIER was then put. It read as follows:—

Considering that it would be useless to expect from the Legislatures—who have, in order to keep their

privileges, an interest to hold you in servitude—certain laws having for their object our improvement under the form of a reduction of the working day, the delegates decide to rely on their own strength in order to obtain their freedom.

Altogether 32 English delegates voted in favour of this resolution, and only nine against; the foreign delegations, with the exception of Italy, rejecting M. Tortelier's proposal. Then came the final vote on the original resolution proposed by Mr. Parnell, which was carried by four votes.

On the motion of Mr. BURT, M.P., seconded by Mr. WILSON, the Congress then unanimously agreed, without discussion:—

That, seeing that the huge armaments maintained by the Governments of Europe constitute a standing menace to the peace of the world, and impose terrible financial burdens upon the industrial classes, this Congress recommends the democracy to give a mandate to their representatives to substitute the principle of arbitration for war in the settlement of disputes between Governments.

On the motion of M. LAMOTHE (French Cabinet Makers) it was resolved, in reference to the resolution carried on the previous day for the establishment of international relations—

That the projected rules must be definitely accepted by the International Congress to be held in Paris in 1889, on the terms of the decision of the International Conference at Paris in 1886.

The PRESIDENT, in putting this proposal to the vote, urged that it involved a considerable responsibility, but it was carried unanimously.

Miss SIMCOX moved, M. KEUFER seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

This Congress deeply regrets the absence from it of any representatives of German, Austrian, or Russian Trade Unions, and desires to convey to the workers of those countries their profound sympathy with the difficulties against which they have to contend, their earnest hope that by united action these difficulties may be removed, and their pledge that the executive of any future Congress will respect the confidence of any *bond fide* workmen who may find it possible to attend such Congresses anonymously.

On the motion of Signor LAZZARI (the Italian delegate), the Congress indorsed a protest against the fostering of national feeling in schools, as being provocative of national dislikes.

Although pressed to do so by some of the foreign delegates the chairman refused to entertain a proposition to the effect that an international workman's paper should be established and printed in four languages. A suggestion that it should be printed in English met the same fate; and he also refused to allow to be put a resolution instructing the British group to issue a report of the proceedings in English and French.

Mr. SHIPTON then wished the foreign delegates a pleasant journey home, and the Congress dissolved: it being announced that the next International Congress would be held in Paris in 1889.



# APPENDIX.

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE,  
19, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.  
*September, 1888.*

## INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

TO THE OFFICERS OF TRADE SOCIETIES AND TRADES COUNCILS :  
Gentlemen,

We have to remind you of the near approach of the International Congress, which will be held in the St. Andrew's Hall, Newman Street, Oxford Street, London, W. We beg you to fill in the accompanying form of credential with the names and addresses of your delegate or delegates, and to return it to this office not later than October 22nd.

The Congress will meet on Tuesday, November 6th. The official language of the Congress will be French : Delegates not speaking either French or English must make their own arrangements for being interpreted.

The chairman of the Parliamentary Committee will preside at the opening of the Congress, and deliver an address of welcome to the Foreign Delegates. The Congress will then proceed to elect its own officers, and appoint a committee to examine all credentials, in order to ascertain whether they comply with the conditions of invitation.

Reports as to the condition of labour in their respective countries, written in either French or English, will be presented by each nationality represented.

The subjects for debate will include :—

1st. The most efficacious means for removing the obstacles to free combination in foreign countries.

2nd. The best methods of combination among the workers in various countries.

3rd. The limitation of production by means of the reduction of the hours of labour.

4th. The desirability or otherwise of state regulation of the hours of labour.

No delegate will speak more than once on each subject. The reader of a paper, or the proposer of a resolution, will be allowed to speak for half-an-hour, but no subsequent speaker will exceed fifteen minutes.

The voting will be by nationality.

The Congress will meet each day at 10 A.M., adjourn at 1 P.M., re-assemble at 2 P.M., and adjourn at 5 P.M.

There will be a reception of the foreign delegates by the British trades on the Monday evening previous to the opening of the Congress.

We are, Gentlemen, yours truly,

G. SHIPTON, *Chairman.*

E. HARFORD, *Vice-Chairman.*

H. SLATTER, *Treasurer.*

J. MAWDSLEY.

W. CRAWFORD.

T. BIRTWISTLE.

J. M. JACK.

W. INSKIP.

J. INGLIS.

J. SWIFT.

H. BROADHURST, *Secretary.*

### SPECIAL NOTICE.

No Credential will be received after October 22nd. No Correspondence will be noticed or acknowledged unless addressed direct to the Secretary of the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain and Ireland.—H. BROADHURST, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.

## INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS,

*St. Andrews Hall, Newman Street, Oxford Street, London, W.*

**Friday, November 9th, 1888.**

### AGENDA.

#### I.—THE BEST MEANS FOR REMOVING THE OBSTACLES TO FREE COMBINATION AMONGST THE WORKERS IN CONTINENTAL COUNTRIES.

1. That the workers of all countries should organise themselves into a distinct party with one programme, differing only in the method of action necessitated by the laws, manners and customs of the respective countries.

RENIER.

2. Considering that the free association of all workers is impossible under a capitalistic régime, the delegates at the Congress engage themselves to bring about the idea of a general universal strike, which shall have for its object to put in common all natural and productive riches, and to permit men to become equal and to associate freely for their requirements, and that of society.

TORTELIER.

3. The Congress resolves that—

1. All the Professional Syndicates, Trades Unions, and other Workmen's Associations will demand of the parliaments and local authorities, laws, resolutions, and decrees protecting workmen against the arbitrary acts of employers with the object of preventing workmen from combining; severe penalties will be demanded against employers who place their employés under the necessity of leaving the syndicate or the workshop.

2. In countries where civil recognition is accorded to workmen's associations, the repeal of measures restrictive of the right of association for their own countrymen, or of the right of being members of syndicates or committees of management, for foreigners, will be demanded.

3. The workmen's combinations will undertake an active propaganda, with the object of creating professional associations and other combinations in localities where they do not at present exist.

4. Equal protection, without exclusion or preference, will be accorded to all workers, whether natives or foreigners, provided they insist upon payment according to the rates established by local usage or the labour tariffs adopted by the workmen's associations.

5. The Trades Unions pledge themselves to publish within three months lists of their members, with their salaries, in order to prove to employes the advantages which these associations, through their organization, have been able to procure for their members. That these statistics be printed in English, French, and German. All the Trades Unions represented here pledge themselves to pay ten francs for the cost of printing.

6. The Committee of English Trades Unions (Parliamentary Committee) is authorized to direct these labours and this organization.

7. On the first Sunday in the month of May, 1889, a popular demonstration will take place in the operative centres of all countries where freedom of association exists, in favour of freedom of association in those countries where it does not exist. The demonstrators will send to their representatives and their Governments a petition, drawn up in the same sense in each country, in which they will demand of their respective Governments diplomatic intervention in favour of freedom of association in countries where it does not exist. In countries where demonstrations are forbidden, the workmen will organize meetings, at which petitions will be adopted demanding freedom of association, and making known to their Governments the workmen's demonstrations that will take place in other countries.

8. War without truce or mercy to the spirit of "class" among the workmen themselves.

FRANÇOIS SAS.

4. Considering that the present Society is maintained by means of the separation of the populations into classes, as well as by the borders between the nations erected by the governing classes, the Congress declares—

The labour parties in the different countries are requested to put on the programme, and work, by agitation, for the abolition of all laws prohibiting or hampering the free right of association and combination, national and international, of the workers.

Further, all restrictions as to right of citizenship must be done away with, so that every man, without any formalities, is considered a citizen of any country in which he chooses to settle, enjoying the same political and citizen's rights as the citizens born in the country.

P. CHRISTENSEN.

J. JENSEN.

## II.—THE BEST METHODS OF COMBINATION AMONG THE WORKERS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

1. In order to promote efficient organization among the workers this Congress recommends—

1st. That all unions of one trade in one country combine in electing an Executive Central body for that trade in that country ;

2nd. That the central bodies of the various trades in the different countries elect a General Council for all trades and all countries ;

3rd. That the various trades in the different countries shall meet in conference annually ; and an International Congress shall be held at intervals of not more than three years.

J. KIER HARDIE.

E. ANSEELE.

2. The majority of the French delegation proposes, as the best method of organization, to the workers of the various countries—

1. To invite all workers to organize themselves into different syndical chambers and groups.

2. To invite the syndical chambers and corporative groups to organize, with or without the support of the municipalities, labour exchanges, which shall unite among themselves for all professional or statistical questions.

3. The organized workers shall constitute themselves into parties or classes, in the presence of all political parties, on a basis at once economic and political, in order to facilitate for workers the acquisition of public power in the commune, the department, or the state.

4. Each party in each nation shall form a national committee, and these national committees shall be in constant communication in order to establish an understanding between the workmen of all nations on all questions which concern them.

5. An International Congress shall take place in every year in each of the nations which are adherents of this organization.

6. At the next International Congress shall be discussed the details of International organization connecting the national Committees of the various countries.

ANDRÉ GELY.

Saturday, November 10th, 1888.

## AGENDA.

## III.—THE LIMITATION OF PRODUCTION BY MEANS OF THE REDUCTION OF THE HOURS OF LABOUR.

(a) To obviate the present necessities we propose that this Congress demands :—

1st. A law to prevent the employment of children under the age of 14.

2nd. A law to regulate the work of women in mines, factories, and workshops, and to prevent them being employed in such work as may be detrimental to health.

3rd. A law to fix the minimum wages according to the needs and the localities of the workers.

DELFORTE.

- (b.) Considering that the reduction of the working hours need not tend to the restriction of production, the capitalists having the facility of employing a greater number of workmen during a shorter working-day, in order to produce according to their private desires and interests ;  
 Considering that the present over-production is the result of the lawless state of production, caused by personal interests, without regard to the needs ;  
 The Congress decides to invite all the organized workmen of all countries to do their best to organize the different branches of production in public services, of the communes, counties, or nations, and those, according to the needs, would alone regulate the production. While waiting for the complete realisation of this desire, the societies are invited to make every effort in order to obtain immediately the following reforms :—  
 1st. The institution of an eight hours' working day, with one day's rest every week, and a minimum of wages, based upon the price of the necessary articles for the existence in every district.  
 2nd. Suppression of farming agreements and piece-work.  
 3rd. For the workers of both sexes, equal wages for equal work.  
 4th. Prohibition to the foreign workmen to work for less than the price agreed upon by the Trades Councils of the respective countries in which they are. A. DUBOIS.  
 A. GELY.
- (c.) The Congress agrees to the following propositions :—  
 1st. The institution of an eight hours working-day by the intervention of the State, with one day of rest every week.  
 2nd. Suppression of farming agreements and piece-work.  
 3rd. Re-instatement of females in the family by withdrawing them gradually from industrial pursuits.  
 4th. For females obliged to work (widows or girls without means), equal wages for equal work.  
 5th. Suppression of the holding of more than one office at the same time. A. KEUFER.
- (d.) The Congress proposes—  
 1. Suppression of farming agreements and piece-work.  
 2. Establishment of corporate societies ; contracts for public works by the municipalities with these societies to be on conditions embodying reduced hours of labour, and the working day fixed according to the necessities of the case.  
 3. Adhesion of all workers to their respective corporate groups.  
 4. Organisation wherever possible of public services, of production and consumption.  
 5. Special laws for agriculture. A. MONTAS.

#### IV.—THE DESIRABILITY OR OTHERWISE OF STATE REGULATION OF THE HOURS OF LABOUR.

- (a) That recognising the absolute necessity of organisation among the workers of all nationalities before any material bettering of their condition can be brought about, and believing that the principal obstacle to effective organisation is the spasmodic nature of their occupations, coupled with the wretchedly low wages received,—this Congress pledges itself to use every legitimate endeavour for obtaining the effective organisation of the unemployed under Municipal and State control, and that it be a recommendation to the Parliamentary Committee of the English Trades Union Congress to use their best influence to make the same an accomplished fact in this country. T. MANN.  
 W. PARNELL.
- (b) That the diminution of the national wealth by the limitation of production would aggravate the poverty of the people, by lessening the supply which ought to be available for their support ; that the gluts in the market supposed to be caused by over-production are due to the present industrial system, which, depriving the labourer of all control over the produce of his toil, brings about the anomaly that the successful production of wealth causes a reduction of wage to the producer. ANNIE BESANT.  
 JOHN BURNS.
- (c) This Congress is of opinion that, owing to the concentration of capital, and the relative weakness of Trades Unions in proportion to the number of workers, it is impossible to further reduce the hours of labour without the aid of the State, and that in every case Eight hours should be the maximum number of hours worked. W. PARNELL.  
 FRANÇOIS SAS.
- (e) Seeing that a great number of workers languish in misery for want of occupation, whilst others are obliged to work an excessive number of hours, this Congress decides that an active propaganda should be instituted for the limitation of the working day to 8 hours, or 48 hours per week, throughout the world.
- (f) In order to attract and unite the workers of all opinions and religions into the movement for executing the preceding proposal, the Congress decides that the 8 hours system shall take place on the 1st May, 1890. E. PIERRON.
- (g) Considering the insufficiency of the actual means of combating the tyranny of capitalism, because the partial and national strikes for the shortening of hours of labour or bettering of wages remain without durable results, by the employers using the unemployed workers to do the work of their striking comrades, or obtaining their goods from foreign countries,—the Congress declares an international understanding between all organized workers of all countries necessary in order to obtain the introduction of an 8 hours working day by the intervention of the State. J. JENSEN.

(h) The International Congress of London decides :—

1st. That there must be established an international legislation of labour, the working men pledging themselves that their representatives take such measures as they judge necessary to compel their respective Governments to sanction such rules ;

2nd. This legislation will have for its object—(a) the prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years ; (b) the limitation of the work of women and minors, specially protected ; (c) the measures of hygiene, of cleanliness, and security in the workshops, in order to protect the health, the physical development, the morality, and the existence of the workers, and to insure them against accidents ; (d) the inspection of mines, manufactories, workshops, and dockyards by the working men's societies ; (e) the fixing, for adults, of a normal working day, with minimum wages ; (f) to fine every employer who should not conform to the law—the judgments to be given by the Trades' Councils ; (g) the institution of an international general registry for working and industrial statistics, giving the means of an extension and codification of the international legislation.

3rd. The projected rules must be definitely accepted by the International Congress to be held in Paris in 1889, on the terms of the decision of the International Conference at Paris, in 1886.

J. B. LAMOTHE.

(i) Considering that it would be useless to expect from the legislatures, who have, in order to keep their privileges, an interest to hold you in servitude, certain laws having for their object our improvement, under the form of a reduction of the working day, the delegates decide to rely on their own strength in order to obtain their freedom.

TOTTELLER.

(j) The Congress recognising that the State is, and can only be, an institution of privileges, incapable of providing adequately and justly for the economic questions of workers, believe that the reduction of the hours of labour must be brought about solely by the organised power of the workers, and that any intervention of the State in the interests of the proletariat is an unjust and dangerous one.

C. LAZZARI.

#### V.—ARBITRATION.

Seeing that the huge armaments maintained by the Governments of Europe constitute a standing menace to the peace of the world, and imposes terrible financial burdens upon the industrial classes, this Congress recommends the democracy to give a mandate to their representatives to substitute the principle of arbitration for war in the settlement of disputes between Governments.

T. BURT.

J. WILSON.

#### GERMAN TRADE UNIONS.

This Congress deeply regrets the absence from it of any representatives of German, Austrian, or Russian Trade Unions, and desires to convey to the workers of those countries their profound sympathy with the difficulties against which they have to contend, their earnest hope that by united action these difficulties may be removed, and their pledge that the Executive of any future Congress will respect the confidence of any *bonâ fide* workmen who may find it possible to attend such Congresses anonymously.

MISS SIMCOX.

A. KEÜFER.

#### A LABOUR JOURNAL.

(a) That in the opinion of this Congress a non-political English daily newspaper should be started, that should give reports concerning the workmen's movements in all countries ; that would also prevent emigration on bogus capitalistic advertisements, and thus produce a fraternal feeling among the workers of all nations.

M. ROCHMAN.

(b) The Congress is of opinion that the creation of an International organ—that is to say, printed in the four languages which govern the world (English, German, French, and Dutch)—would be the best means for combination and consolidation amongst the workers of foreign countries.

A. VAN HOODYDONK.

#### CONGRESS REPORT.

The Congress decides that the opening speech of the President and all the decisions of the Congress shall be printed in French and English, and sent to all the societies represented at this Congress.

F. CAYROT.

#### TERMINATION OF CONGRESS.

Considering that socialism alone can solve the social question, and that in order to obtain this it is indispensable to have a solid International understanding, we express the wish that this Congress should pass decisive resolutions in this sense, and that the preliminaries be discussed immediately on the close of the Congress.

T. TOUNA.

P. CHRISTENSEN.  
C. LAZZARI.  
G. GERTMAN.  
J. WILSON.  
W. PARNELL.

C. J. DRUMMOND.  
J. JUDGE.  
ANDRÉ GELY.  
FRANÇOIS SAS.

} Standing Orders Committee.